

JOURNAL OF EARLY SOUTHERN DECORATIVE ARTS

WINTER 2003 VOLUME XXIX, NUMBER 2



THE MUSEUM OF EARLY SOUTHERN DECORATIVE ARTS

EDITORIAL BOARD

Henry Parrott Bacot, *Louisiana State University Museum of Art, Baton Rouge*

John A. Burrison, *Georgia State University, Atlanta*

Colleen Callahan, *Richmond, Virginia*

Barbara Carson, *College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia*

Bernard D. Cotton, *Buckinghamshire College, United Kingdom*

Donald L. Fennimore, Jr., *Winterthur Museum, Winterthur, Delaware*

Leland Ferguson, *University of South Carolina, Columbia*

Edward G. Hill, M.D., *Winston-Salem, North Carolina*

Ronald L. Hurst, *Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Virginia*

Theodore Landsmark, *President, Boston Architectural Center, Boston, Massachusetts*

Carl R. Lounsbery, *Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Virginia*

Susan H. Myers, *National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.*

J. Garrison Stradling, *New York, New York*

Carolyn J. Weekley, *Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Virginia*

MANAGING EDITOR: Gary J. Albert

SUBSCRIPTIONS TO THE JOURNAL OF EARLY SOUTHERN DECORATIVE ARTS

Receive the *Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts*, published in summer and winter by the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts (MESDA).

Subscriptions for individuals and libraries are \$35.00 (overseas members please add \$10.00 for postage). For further information about joining Friends of MESDA and the Collections and benefits of membership, please write the Coordinator of Membership Services, MESDA, P.O. Box 10310, Winston-Salem, NC 27108.

THE JOURNAL
OF EARLY SOUTHERN
DECORATIVE ARTS



WINTER 2003
VOLUME XXIX, NUMBER 2

The *Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts* is published twice a year by the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts (MESDA). It presents research on decorative arts made in the South prior to 1820, with an emphasis on object studies in a material culture context.

Potential contributors are encouraged to contact the Managing Editor for guidelines concerning subject matter and manuscript preparation.

Some photography and image reproductions are made possible by the John Bivins Memorial Endowment.

All correspondence concerning the *Journal* should be sent to the Managing Editor, *Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts*, MESDA, P.O. Box 10310, Winston-Salem, NC 27108. Correspondence concerning membership in MESDA, including renewals and address changes, should be directed to the Coordinator of Membership Services, MESDA, P.O. Box 10310, Winston-Salem, NC 27108.

Articles from the *Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts* are abstracted in the *Bibliography of the History of Art and America: History and Life*.

The paper used for this publication meets the minimum American National Standard for information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1984,[∞] and contains 20% post-consumer fiber.

Some back issues of the *Journal* are available.

ISSN 0098-9266

Copyright © 2004 by Old Salem Inc.

Designed and typeset in Adobe Garamond and Hiroshige Sans by Kachergis Book Design, Pittsboro, North Carolina

Printed in the United States of America

Contents

MARTHA R. SEVERENS AND

KATHLEEN STAPLES

Benjamin Hawkins and the Creek Indians: A Study 1
in Jefferson's Assimilation Policy

Appendix A. Translation of a Letter from
Karsten Petersen to Brother Benzien, 35

KATHLEEN STAPLES

"Useful, Ornamental, or Necessary in this" 39
Province": The Textile Inventory of John Dart, 1754


Appendix A. Inventory of Flat Textiles, 78

Appendix B. Inventory of Finished and
Unfinished Dress Goods, 80

Appendix C. Inventory of Haberdashery Goods, 81

Appendix D. Inventory of Finished Household
Textiles, 81

Appendix E. Miscellaneous, 82



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2010 with funding from
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

<http://www.archive.org/details/journalofearlyso2922003muse>

Benjamin Hawkins and the Creek Indians

A Study in Jefferson's Assimilation Policy

MARTHA R. SEVERENS AND KATHLEEN STAPLES

THIS STUDY OF *Benjamin Hawkins and the Creek Indians* combines the scholarship of Martha Severens, curator, Greenville County Museum of Art, and Kathleen Staples, researcher in material culture. Considering the debate on both the identity of the protagonist and the authorship of the painting, Ms. Severens offers a compelling argument for the identification of the central figure and relates various aspects of the painting to the work of other contemporary artists. Ms. Staples explores the subject matter of the painting in relationship to Jefferson's civilization policy for American Indians and to what extent these painted images reflected the Creek assimilation process during the first decade of the nineteenth century.



"The savage lives by fishing and hunting, the barbarian by pasturage, and the civilized man by agriculture." Benjamin Rush¹

INTRODUCTION

The antebellum period saw the development of paintings whose subject matter interpreted specific events in American history. *Benjamin Hawkins and the Creek Indians* is an early example of this

genre, completed about 1805 (*Figure 1*).² The image embraces a topic with which many of America's educated elite of the time concurred: the assimilation of American Indians into European American culture. The federal government had begun to formulate an assimilation, or "civilizing," policy for indigenous groups beginning in Washington's administration. In 1789, Washington's Secretary of War, Henry Knox, expressed the government's philosophical argument in a memorandum to the president. Knox lamented that native tribes had disappeared from states now heavily populated by whites and feared for the extinction of remaining groups living east of the Mississippi. This situation would have been different if "[we] had imparted our knowledge of cultivation and the arts to the aboriginals of the country by which the source of future life and happiness had been preserved and extended."³ Proposing that the federal government be the civilizing agent, Knox advocated the distribution of agricultural tools and domestic animals to native groups under United States' jurisdiction. Communally owned tribal lands were to be reallocated as personal property. This plan was promoted by Washington and his next two successors, but perhaps most vigorously by Thomas Jefferson.

The United States government was particularly interested in "civilizing" the Creek nation. The Creeks, along with other southern tribes, had been pro-British during the American Revolution. Although government officials tried to negotiate for an exclusive commercial network to be established in Creek territory in the mid-1780s, Creek leaders insisted on maintaining trade connections with Great Britain through English merchants and factors in Pensacola and Mobile. Finally, in 1796, Washington appointed Benjamin Hawkins (*Figure 2*), a former North Carolina senator with extensive experience in Indian affairs, to implement and oversee the civilization plan in the Cherokee and Creek territories.⁴ Hawkins spent a year traveling through Cherokee and Creek villages, meeting with both native leaders and white traders, before settling first at Coweta and then in 1803 on a piece of land allotted him by the Creek along



FIGURE 1. *Benjamin Hawkins and the Creek Indians*. Unidentified artist, c. 1805. Oil on canvas; HOA 35 $\frac{7}{8}$ " ; WOA 49 $\frac{7}{8}$ ". Collection of the Greenville County Museum of Art, gift of The Museum Association, Inc., with funds donated by Corporate Partners: Ernst and Young; Fluor Daniel; Director's Circle Members: Mr. and Mrs. Alester G. Furman III; Mr. and Mrs. M. Dexter Hagy; Thomas P. Hartness; Mr. and Mrs. E. Erwin Maddrey II; Mary M. Pearce; Mr. and Mrs. John Pellet, Jr.; Mr. W. Thomas Smith; Mr. and Mrs. Edward H. Stall; Eleanor and Irvine Welling; Museum Antiques Show, 1989, 1990, 1991, Elliott, Davis and Company, CPAs, sponsor; Collector's Group 1990, 1991. Acc. GCMA #91.21.1 (2045). *Courtesy of the Greenville County Museum of Art.*



FIGURE 2. *Benjamin Hawkins*, engraving by E.G. Williams & Bro. NY. *Courtesy of the North Carolina State Archives, acc. N.77.5.39.*

the Flint River. Contemporary accounts confirm that as an agent to the Creeks, Hawkins was successful in introducing the plow, about 1797, promoting animal husbandry, and encouraging cotton production. He remained among the Creek until his death in 1816.

Benjamin Hawkins and the Creek Indians, most certainly created for viewing in a public gallery, is not only an idealistic tribute to Hawkins but also propaganda for Jefferson's assimilation policy. Many Creek villages did adopt farming, husbandry, and home manufactures. However, these outward signs of assimilation did not reflect a change in the social structure of Creek society or a shift in the traditional division of labor by gender. Creek men did not abandon the hunting economy to take up agricultural pursuits. Creek women did not abandon agricultural pursuits as they learned to spin and weave cotton. And, for a short time, women as well as men were active in a frontier market economy that provided cash in addition to trade goods.

AN ICON OF ASSIMILATION

The canvas belonging to the Greenville County Museum of Art called *Benjamin Hawkins and the Creek Indians* is both an enigma and an anomaly. With an uncertain early provenance and no signature, the authorship of the painting is disputed. No documents, letters, or labels exist to shed light on this mysterious painting. The protagonist has been variously identified; for twenty years beginning in the mid-1960s he was believed to be William Bowles, but in 1989 scholars argued convincingly that his identity is Benjamin Hawkins. Furthermore, the painting is exceptional in its subject matter; it endorses Thomas Jefferson's "plan of civilization" for American Indians, but the circumstances of the painting's commission are unknown.

The Museum acquired the painting in 1989 from Spartanburg, South Carolina, dealer Robert M. Hicklin, Jr., who had obtained the painting from Priddy & Beckerdite, Inc., of Richmond, Vir-

ginia. They had received the canvas from Frank L. Horton, the late Director Emeritus of the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, owner since 1968. Horton states in a letter to Thomas W. Styron, director of the Greenville County Museum of Art, that he had purchased *William Augustus Bowles at his Training Post on the Chatahoochee River* from the New York firm Hirsch & Adler, and had placed it on loan to MESDA. Prior to 1968 the painting had been in the inventory of Zeitlin and Verbrugge, rare book and fine art dealers in Los Angeles, but by the time Priddy & Beckerdite took possession that concern was out of business.⁵

In the landmark 1983 exhibition, *Painting in the South*, organized by the Virginia Museum of the Fine Arts, the painting was exhibited with the designation of William Bowles. After calling him "the colorful adventurer from Maryland," Linda Simmons commented: "Although the artist of this work has never been identified, there is speculation that it may have been William Bowles himself, who is known to have painted his own portrait with important Indian leaders for propaganda purposes."⁶

Bowles was active among Creeks and Cherokees in Florida. He had an Indian wife and frequently wore native dress and jewelry, unlike the well-dressed figure in Greenville's painting. In addition, a portrait of Bowles by Thomas Hardy, done in London circa 1790, bears little resemblance; he is shown as a dark haired, round-faced individual with a dimple wearing an elaborate headdress and gorget around his neck. Constantly plotting against the Spanish in an attempt to gain Florida for the English, and desirous of establishing a separate territory for American Indians, Bowles often incited them against the colonists. After he failed to earn the support of the English, Bowles became a pirate, was captured in New Orleans in 1792, and died in a prison in Havana in 1805. It is unlikely that he would have instructed the Creek Indians in the use of the plow, the central theme of Greenville's painting.

Benjamin Hawkins, on the other hand, spent the majority of his career working for what he perceived to be the betterment of Amer-

ican Indians. He was born in Bute County, North Carolina, in 1754, and attended the College of New Jersey (later Princeton University) for three years before it closed in 1776 due to the American Revolution. He appears to have enlisted in the military, and following the war was in public service, first as trade commissioner and then as a delegate to the Continental Congress. He was present in Annapolis when George Washington surrendered his commission. He was elected twice to the North Carolina State Assembly and in 1785 helped to negotiate the Treaty of Hopewell with southern Indian tribes, beginning three decades of work among American Indians. In 1790 he was elected Senator from North Carolina.

In 1796 President George Washington appointed Hawkins as Principal Temporary Agent for Indian Affairs South of the Ohio River. In an address to the Cherokee Nation in August 1796, Washington gave Hawkins the following endorsement: "I have chosen him for this office because he is esteemed for a good man; has knowledge of Indian customs, and a particular love and friendship for all the Southern tribes." Hawkins negotiated several treaties that sought to implement a "plan of civilization" which would introduce seeds, farm tools, and sound agricultural practices. He spent the next several years traveling the territory (*Figure 3*). He worked out of temporary quarters until 1801 when President Thomas Jefferson renewed his appointment—and made it permanent—and at that point he established a model farm and headquarters along the Flint River in Georgia.

Hawkins achieved considerable success. In a letter to Secretary of War, Henry Dearborn, in early 1809, he boasted:

I have never known the [Creek] nation generally better disposed towards us than they are now, nor near so much occupied as they are at present in procuring food and clothing by their industry. Among the Lower Creeks particularly the determination is general to try the wheel [i.e., spinning wheel], the Loom, and the plough."⁸

Benjamin Hawkins and the Creek Indians is a frequent textbook illustration of Washington and Jefferson's plan for the treatment of

native peoples. The painting that it most resembles is that other iconic image of early American history: Benjamin West's *William Penn's Treaty with the Indians* (Figure 4). The two paintings share an outdoor setting in which a legendary figure serenely interacts with American Indians. The artists display an interest in the accurate portrayal of costumes and use rhetorical poses to convey the story line. Both images can be read as propaganda for a particular viewpoint, although West used an historic event allegorically to address a contemporary controversy.

West's patron was none other than Thomas Penn, son of William Penn, and the proprietor of Pennsylvania who was living in London, where West painted the canvas in 1771. On the surface, *Penn's Treaty* is a tribute to the peace-loving father, but it is also much more, as Ann Uhry Abrams has argued:

But behind this filial devotion lay the scars of factional strife which had threatened to remove the Penn family from proprietorship of the colony. But in spite of this dissension, the memory of William Penn continued to symbolize peace. Echoes of his negotiations with the Indians resounded in the Pennsylvania Assembly, and images of his famous conference at Shackamaxon adorned tokens distributed to Indians tribes as gestures of good will.⁹

Like *Penn's Treaty*, *Benjamin Hawkins and the Creek Indians* is fairly transparent and serves as a testament to the success, at least temporarily, of the Washington-Jefferson "plan of civilization." While it is clear for whom and why West painted his canvas, the *raison d'être* behind Greenville's painting is less evident. Who conceived it, who paid for it, and where it was exhibited, are all part of the mystery that enshroud it.

The two paintings have a number of additional similarities, which may be an indication that West's painting served as a source of inspiration. Although it remained in London until the 1850s, within three years of its completion it was engraved by John Hall and published by John Boydell. It gained quick and widespread no-



FIGURE 4. *William Penn's Treaty with the Indians* by Benjamin West, 1771–72. Oil on canvas; HOA 75½"; WOA 107¾". Collection of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, acc. 1878.1.10. Gift of Mrs. Sarah Harrison (The Joseph Harrison, Jr. Collection). Courtesy of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia.

tority both in England and America. In its engraved state it was not corrected, that is, it was reproduced in reverse. Thus the vignette in the lower right of the mother attending her child appears at the left in the print, exactly where the nursing mother is found in the Hawkins painting. In addition, slightly to the left of center in both can be found shadowy heads peering out from behind foreground figures.

Despite some important similarities and connections, the two paintings have significant differences. The West composition is more crowded and complicated; more figures, with more gestures, on more levels arranged in a semi-circle, whereas Hawkins and the Creeks operate in a frieze arrayed across the foreground. The drama between Hawkins and the Indian chief is more focused, with the plow emblematically located at the composition's midpoint. West's figures are better integrated into their space, where Hawkins and his companions stand on a stage in front of a scenic backdrop.

Several artists have been suggested in connection with *Benjamin Hawkins and the Creek Indians*. Robert Edge Pine (circa 1725–1788), an English painter who came to this country in 1784 with the express goal of painting likenesses and history paintings of American statesmen, actually painted a portrait of Benjamin Hawkins shortly after his arrival. His death in 1788—well before Hawkins was appointed to his position—precludes any direct involvement in Greenville's painting. Pine's bust length portrait, however, may have served as a model for the likeness of Hawkins; it is now lost, the victim of an 1803 fire.

Edward Savage (1761–1817) was well acquainted with Pine's work. For example, he appears to have finished and engraved Pine's major history painting, *The Congress Voting Independence*, which was left unfinished at Pine's death in 1788.¹⁰ Savage dedicated a great deal of his energies to memorializing President George Washington and profited from this association. His single best known work is the family portrait of George and Martha Washington with her grandchildren painted at Mount Vernon in 1796. Something of an entre-

preneur, Savage did not limit himself to the craft of portraiture; a showman and opportunist, in 1802 he opened the Columbian Gallery in New York, which displayed 200 paintings and prints together with wax works and natural history curiosities. On view were numerous paintings by Pine and Savage's life portrait of Washington, the Washington family, and two views of Mount Vernon, together with copies of Italian religious and mythological subjects by other artists. The Columbian Gallery would have been an appropriate venue for *Benjamin Hawkins and the Creek Indians*, but the catalogue lists no title that can be linked to the subject represented in the painting. Nor is there any in the inventory of Savage's estate at the time of his death.

While there are several circumstantial reasons to attribute Greenville's painting to Savage, it lacks stylistic affinities with his mature work. Savage's strength was grand manner portraiture in which the figures appear rather wooden. Unlike the Connecticut portraitist Ralph Earl (1751–1801) who regularly included landscape vistas in his portraits, Savage rarely incorporated scenery. His two views of Mount Vernon show the house and outbuildings bathed in a clear crystalline light that reveals in remarkable detail the workings of Washington's plantation. The placement of the house, trees, and fences are almost formulaic and slightly naïve.

Several scholars have mentioned the similarity of the buildings in *Benjamin Hawkins and the Creek Indians* to the work of Charleston artist Thomas Coram (1756–1811). By profession Coram was an engraver, but he also did small house portraits and scenes of Charleston area plantations. His best-known paintings are his diminutive views of Mulberry Plantation, where the architecture of the slave cabins resembles the structures in the background of the Museum's painting. While the buildings are very similar, there are few stylistic similarities between Coram's work and Greenville's painting.

Rather than attempting to attribute the painting to one individual, it is possible that several yet-to-be-identified hands were at work. The figure of Hawkins with its rhetorical gesture stands out,

not just because he is the protagonist, but also because of the way he is painted. His colors are sharper, as is the lighting on him. This is in dramatic contrast to the sfumato handling of the Creeks on either side of him. The figures are not well integrated into the landscape behind them. Landscape as an art form was in its infancy in America during the first decade of the nineteenth century, and in all likelihood the artist was working from verbal descriptions of Hawkins's model farm, rather than on-site observations. The silhouette of the high-style church and the sailing ships in the upper left were probably meant as symbols of civilization, rather than as actual parts of the Flint River landscape. Finally, the still life details of the tools and crops are rendered with great attention to textures, such as the sheen of the metal and the kernels of corn, which are painted with impasto, suggesting a different artist from the one or ones who depicted Hawkins and the landscape.

The physical make-up of the painting—the canvas, paint, etc.—is consistent with the early years of the nineteenth century, although they have not been subjected to scientific analysis. The date of “circa 1805” is used to indicate some time during the interval between Hawkins's establishment in 1801 of his model farm on the Flint River and 1812, when the “plan of civilization” was superseded by the tensions leading up to the War of 1812.

SETTING THE SCENE

In an essay on this work, Martha Severens has pointed out that *Benjamin Hawkins and the Creek Indians* is a combination of several types of painting: “portraiture, landscape, still life, and even genre in its depiction of everyday people in typical postures.”¹¹ Hawkins's model plantation, and his Creek agency, was located on the Flint River in Georgia. That the artist never visited the site is evident from a comparison of the painting with a map of the compound drawn by Moravian surveyor Abraham Steiner between 1807 and 1813 (*Figure 5*). Steiner's drawing indicates two neat rows of shops

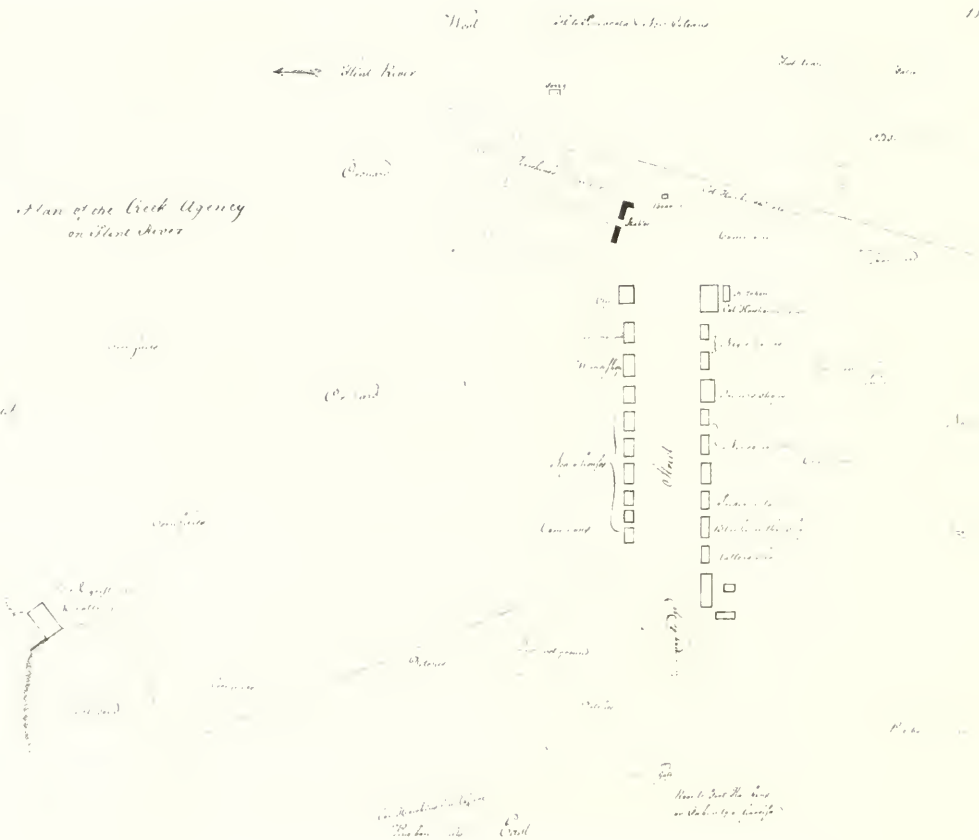


FIGURE 5. Plan of the Creek Agency on Flint River by Abraham Gottlieb Steiner, 1807–1813. Ink on paper. MRF 29594. *Courtesy of the Monavian Archives, Southern Province, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.*

and outbuildings in a gated enclosure. The buildings include Hawkins's house, kitchen, and office; shops for a weaver, blacksmith, joiner, and hatter; an "Indians' tavern"; and living quarters for the ninety enslaved African Americans who worked the plantation.¹²

In the foreground, Hawkins, the tallest figure in the painting, instructs two Creeks in the use of a plow. If diagonal lines are drawn across opposite corners of the painting, they intersect at a second plow, an intentionally symbolic focal point.¹³ To the left of this exchange, three Creek men are in discussion among themselves while a Creek woman nurses an infant. Accompanying the Creek assembly is a dog, the only animal that American Indians domesticated. A dog accompanies Hawkins as well, although one with a pedigree, a King Charles spaniel. At far right, yet another Creek man displays a harvest bounty of corn, turnips, and potatoes.

The clothing worn by the Creek men and women is a mixture of indigenous and European styles that had evolved beginning in the early eighteenth century (*Figure 6*). The men wear shirts made of fine bleached linen. These shirts could have been presented to them as gifts from United States officials or they may have been purchased with deerskins. The headman of the group can be identified by the turban of silk fabric fashioned around his head and ornamented with dyed feathers. The red mantle, or matchcoat, tied over the shoulder and under the arm, is of stroud, a fine English woolen cloth with a napped finish, dyed red or blue and woven with stripes along the selvage edges.¹⁴ Stroud was a staple commodity of the Indian trade. The moccasins and thigh-height leggings are of deerskin and ornamented with glass beads imported from Europe. (Before European contact, women had embellished skins with dyed porcupine quills.) In 1754, one pound of deerskins could purchase five strands of barleycorn, or common, glass beads or ten strands of enameled white beads.¹⁵

The headman also wears arm and wrist cuffs of silver, probably given to him by government officials. In the colonial era, the British



FIGURE 6. "Simafutchki, ..." Creek. Engraving by John Trumbull, 1790, after a pencil drawing. *Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnography, 1169-1-3.*



FIGURE 7. F(P)iney George silver gorget by Thomas W. Machen, New Bern, North Carolina, 1800–1825, WOA 4–12"; HOA 7½".
Courtesy of the Catawba Cultural Preservation Project, Rock Hill, South Carolina.

had made a practice of distributing gifts of military clothing and articles of silver, including peace medals, silver gorgets (*Figure 7*), arm and wristbands, and brooches, or “breast rings,” to heads of villages, warriors, and other important native persons in order to cement alliances with the crown. Washington’s administration recognized the need to continue such conciliatory practices, commissioning private silversmiths and engravers to produce peace medals, arm and wristbands, brooches, “Nose jewels,” and “Ear Bobs” for presentation to various tribes. These presentation pieces were ordered from such diverse locations as Georgetown, Alexandria, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New Jersey. In 1801, the United States Mint began to manufacture round peace medals with a likeness of Jefferson on one side and the clasped hands of friendship on the reverse (*Figure 8*).¹⁶

In his journals, Hawkins described the dress of a Creek woman with stature in her community. This passage is also an apt description of the nursing mother in the painting:



FIGURE 8. Thomas Jefferson Peace Medal, c. 1801, silver, obverse and reverse. *Courtesy of the American Numismatic Society, 1923, 52.11.*

She wore *stillapica* (moccasins) without stockings, the *hoomau* (short petticoat) just below the knee, ornamented with *tucullowau* (binding), her *iocoofuttau* (shift) just to the *hoomauwonaugetau* (petticoat string), made open before, but confined with *sittabcolcau* (brooches). The length seemed designed to accommodate a young child, and by raising it an inch or two the child could be put to the breast: she has eight *huscotalcau* (ear bobs) around the rim of each ear, and a *cunnauwau* (necklace), all of silver beads and bobs, and a *hatchetau* (mantle), her hair was clubbed and tied with *tucullowau chate* (red binding).¹⁷

Hawkins poses in a style of clothing that was fashionable for English country gentlemen from the mid-1790s through the first decade of the nineteenth century. Its sober restraint is created by a limited palette: dark colors in stark contrast to white linen. Hawkins' linen shirt is covered by a white silk double-breasted waistcoat, which ends just below the natural waistline. His breeches are likely deer-skin. Over this clothing he wears a greatcoat, or overcoat, probably

of wool. Knitted silk stockings and fine leather shoes with buckles complete this outfit. The ensemble is quite out of keeping with an agricultural scene but most appropriate for defining his importance and elegance in contrast to the dress—and undress—of the Creeks.

CIVILIZATION POLICY AND IMPLEMENTATION

In order to understand how the *Benjamin Hawkins* painting played to educated white audiences who viewed it at the time, it is essential to explore one of the philosophical tenets that underpinned the civilization policy. In the first decades following the Revolution the search by European Americans for a new national identity came to embrace the question of the place of American Indians in the new republic. Indeed, it seems that America's ability to become a civilized nation, and to stand with the great civilizations of Europe, depended in part on her ability to transform her native populations from savage to civilized. In his 1791 message to the Second Congress, George Washington planted the seeds of a national policy concerning American Indians:

It is sincerely to be desired that . . . an intimate intercourse may succeed calculated to advance the happiness of the Indians, and to attach them firmly to the United States.

In order to do this, it seems necessary—That they should experience the benefits of an impartial dispensation of justice; That the mode of alienating their lands . . . should be defined and regulated to obviate imposition. . . .

A system corresponding with the mild principles of religious and philanthropy, towards an unenlightened race of man, whose happiness materially depends on the conduct of the United States would be an honorable to the National character as conformable to the dictates of sound policy.¹⁸

This philanthropic base for the civilization policy was born of Enlightenment thinking about the environment. Simply stated, environmentalism recognized no fixed categories in the natural order.

All things, including human beings, were being reshaped continually by the environment, a process that Bernard Sheehan has described as “a repeated adaptive reconciliation between subject and surroundings.”¹⁹ In America, this translated into an argument that the difference between European Americans and American Indians was not one of race but of culture. On the continuum of cultural progress constructed by whites, to encourage American Indians to adopt white ways and to give them the tools to do so—to “enlighten” them—was also to move them from savage to civilized. Change was possible.

In reality, a combination of factors was responsible for the benevolent attitude adopted by the United States. In addition to the influence of Enlightenment thinking, missionary efforts, especially those of the Quakers and Moravians, and—perhaps most important in the South—the less benign motives of white planters and settlers who desired more agricultural land on the frontier all contributed to a formal plan for American Indians.²⁰ What brought indigenous groups to negotiation talks is equally complex. In the South, the introduction of European goods and the deerskin trade were catalysts in a transformation-of-culture process that had begun almost from the moment of European contact. Equally significant were conflicts over white settlement and loss of land. As early as 1715, for example, Creek representatives complained to British officials in Charles Town about some of the European traders living among them.²¹ European settlers encroached on native lands, their cattle and hogs destroying cornfields and grazing areas for deer. Tribal lands were used to pay deficits to white traders. And forfeiture of lands was always a necessary condition of the many peace treaties negotiated between American Indians and their European neighbors.

The practical implementation of the civilization policy during Jefferson’s administration was based on the argument that as deer herds continued to decline, the deerskin trade would become less profitable for native hunters and a livelihood based on hunting more precarious. Indians then would be forced to turn to agriculture to

support themselves. Translated into the Creek experience, once Creeks took up the plow, they would no longer need their great expanses of hunting lands and they would readily sell land to obtain agricultural tools and livestock. As the following letter, from Jefferson to Benjamin Hawkins, illustrates, the directives for forcing dramatic change in Creek society were formulated at the highest level of government:

I consider the business of hunting as already become insufficient to furnish clothing and subsistence to the Indians. The promotion of agriculture, therefore, and household manufacture, are essential in their preservation, and I am disposed to aid and encourage it liberally. This will enable them to live on much small portions of land, and indeed will render their vast forests useless but for the range of cattle; for which purpose, also, as they become better farmers, they will be found useless, and even disadvantageous. While they are learning to do better on less land, our increasing numbers will be calling for more land, and thus a coincidence of interests will be produced between those who have lands to spare, and want other necessities, and those who have such necessities to spare, and want lands.²²

To accelerate the process of selling land, Jefferson proposed that the government-operated factories, or trading houses, located in Creek territory sell goods cheaply and extend credit to the Creeks so that they would accumulate debts “beyond what the individuals can pay, [and] they [would] become willing to lop them off by a cession of lands.” Under this plan, white settlements would “gradually circumscribe and approach the Indians, and they will in time . . . incorporate with us as citizens of the United States.”²³ The only peaceful alternative was removal beyond the Mississippi River. Jefferson’s civilization policy had a dual purpose: Indian assimilation and white expansion.

Benjamin Hawkins was given the responsibility of implementing civilization policy among the Creeks. He counseled male members of the tribe to abandon their hunting economy and replace it with fencing, plowing, and planting. He procured processing tools,

wheels, and looms for women to spin and weave cotton. He urged families to settle on individual homesteads, in effect to own privately the land they lived on and worked. In 1798 Hawkins wrote James Jackson, the governor of Georgia, that he had made progress with the civilizing plan for the Creeks: "I have, however, in aid of the pastoral life, introduced the plough, the [spinning] wheel and the loom, and with success."²⁴

In 1807, two years after the approximate year in which *Benjamin Hawkins* was painted, the Moravian community in Salem, North Carolina, sent two missionaries, Karsten Petersen and Christian Burkhardt, to Hawkins's establishment on the Flint River. Hawkins set them up with lodgings and land for planting.²⁵ According to Steiner's map, a tent to house the pair was located in the compound, sandwiched between the smokehouse and the stable. Records in the church's archives indicate that the Moravians hoped that Burkhardt and Petersen would learn enough of the Creek language to enable them to proselytize. Hawkins, on the other hand, was interested only in having the pair make equipment that the Creeks could use to fabricate their own necessities. He asked them to "sell their manufactured things, as ploughs, spinning wheels, weaving looms and cooper's ware personally to the Indians in exchange against hides and meat etc." Burkhardt's plan was to manufacture tin ware and work at the cooper's trade, Petersen to build spinning wheels and looms (*Figure 9*). By December of 1808, Petersen "had already 20 spinning wheels and one loom on his list of orders."²⁶ A portion of a letter Petersen wrote to Reverend Christian Lewis Benzien at about this time reveals that both Petersen and Burkhardt had settled in at Flint River and were closely involved with the activities of the agency (see Appendix A).

CREEK SOCIETY

With one exception, the cast of characters assembled in *Benjamin Hawkins and the Creek Indians* is male. While it is true that Creek

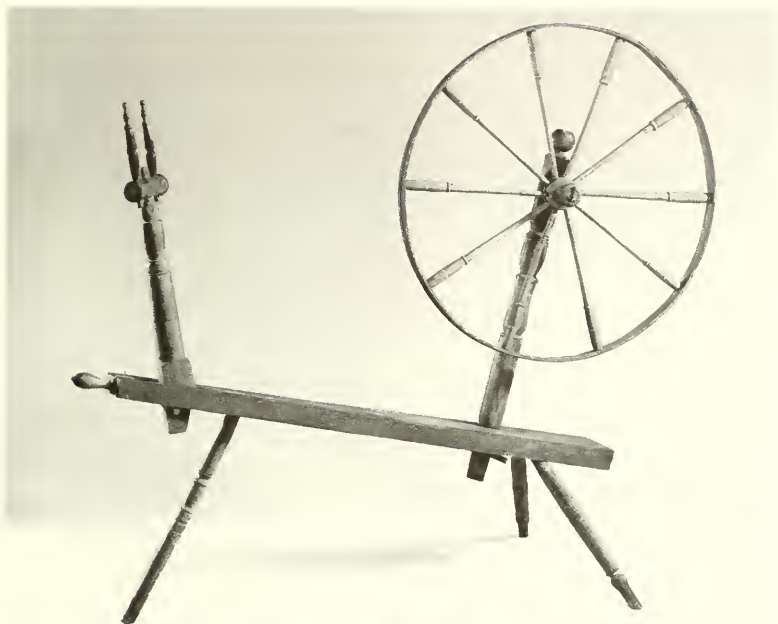


FIGURE 9. Spinning Wheel by Karsten Petersen, unidentified wood, c. 1807–1850. Stamped “K. Petersen”; LOA 48½”; DIA (wheel) 32”. *Collection of the Wachovia Historical Society. Photographs courtesy Old Salem Inc.*

FIGURE 9a. Detail of maker's stamp.

men were responsible for intra- and extratribal negotiations and transactions, Creek society did not conform to the patriarchal model suggested in the painting and urged by the American government. Creek kinship was matrilineal; an individual took his or her family descent through the mother's line. Thus, a child was a member of his or her mother's clan, not that of the father. Families who claimed a common and known female ancestor constituted a matrilineage. Matrilineages possessing a common mythical ancestor comprised a clan.²⁷ Each of these extended families lived in small clusters of houses, or villages:

These houses stand in clusters of four, five, six, seven, and eight together, irregularly distributed up and down the banks of rivers or small streams; each cluster of houses contains a clan, or family of relations, who eat and live in common.²⁸

Work patterns and authority in Creek society were divided along gender lines. Men defined themselves by their prowess in hunting and bravery in warfare. They served as leaders of their towns and clans and in this capacity interacted with outsiders. Men also cleared new fields for planting, erected the public buildings and private lodgings (*Figure 10*), and produced tools and ceremonial implements.

In contrast, women bore and raised children, planted and tended communal cornfields and private garden plots, gathered wild foods, processed meat and animal skins, cooked, fashioned clothing, and made household objects such as baskets and pottery.²⁹ The situation of the women Hawkins encountered in the Creek town of Etowah is typical:

they performed almost all the labours themselves, that the men assisted but little and that in the corn. They generally made plenty of corn, sweet potatoes, pumpkins, beans, ground peas, cymblins [cymling], water & muskmelons, gourds, coleworts and onions. They had planted some cotton, made sugar, their baskets, sifters, earthen pots and pans. They had some hogs, cattle and poultry.³⁰



FIGURE 10. "A LOG HABITATION, 1791." Creek. Engraving from H. R. Schoolcraft, *Historical . . . Information . . . Respecting . . . the Indian Tribes of the United States*, 6 vols. Philadelphia, 1851–1857. After a drawing by J. C. Tidball, USA. Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnography, 1169-a.

Women were also responsible for providing food for family and guests. Unlike their contemporary white sisters, Creek women had personal property rights, whether married or single. They owned the houses, the tools used in their agricultural and household activities, and the crops and foodstuffs they grew. As white settlers brought livestock into their territory, women independently acquired cattle, hogs, horses, and poultry.

A Creek woman was not under the authority of her husband, a fact that Hawkins noted with distain. During his travels through Creek territory in 1797, Hawkins observed and reacted to the power that Creek women had in their families, even those women who had married white men. They were "in the habit of assuming and exercising absolute rule, such as it was over their children, and not attending to the advice of their white husbands, and [not] taking part with them when they found it necessary to oppose any unjust pretensions of their families."³¹ When Hawkins insisted that a Creek widow offered to him as a wife be under his direction and that any children they produced be likewise under his control with no opposition from the woman's family, the young woman's mother immediately broke off the negotiations.³²

THE CREEKS' FRONTIER ECONOMY, FORMAL AND INFORMAL

In the painting the deerskin leggings and moccasins worn by the Creek assembly and the breeches sported by Hawkins all symbolize the extensive formal trade in deerskins, the external aspects of which were controlled on the Indian side by men. This lucrative commerce had begun in the late seventeenth century when Creeks and Europeans—Spanish and French as well as English—traded furs, skins, and captive enemies for European-manufactured goods. The Yamasee War, which ended in 1717, brought almost a complete stop to the trade in Indian slaves as Creeks negotiated a new trade and peace treaty with the English in Charleston. At about the same time the

deerskin trade was given a boost when a deadly cattle plague hit European herds, reappearing intermittently into the 1750s. In an effort to protect its own stock, Britain banned imports of cattle and hides from Europe. This caused serious shortages in the English leather industry, which in turn, produced an increased demand for the hides of American white tail deer.³³ Leather was a staple commodity and one which a mid-century observer noted, "may very justly be ranked in the first class of those belonging to this kingdom."³⁴ Treated deerskins were used for harnesses, coach and chaise fittings, saddles, men's and women's gloves and shoes, men's clothing, and book bindings. The Creeks were trading their pounds of deerskins to Charleston merchants and purchasing guns, bullets, powder, and flints; ready-made clothing such as matchcoats, skirts, flaps, or breechcloths; shoes; blankets; yardage of imported cotton, woolen, and silk fabrics; tools; knives and scissors; and rum.³⁵

According to the second edition of *The Universal Dictionary of Trade and Commerce*, by 1757 England had resumed trade with Europe for hides. Her leather industry was receiving a "prodigious quantity of many kinds . . . imported from Spain, Portugal, [and] Ireland" as well as from the American colonies. The demand for deerskin continued, however, because of the whims of men's fashion. Leather breeches became the rage. The author of *The Universal Dictionary* explained that by mid-century "what was thought to be a garment fit to be worn only by the laborious, is become fashionable, and universally worn, from the tradesmen to those of the first rank in the kingdom." English-made breeches were sold locally and exported both to North America and to Europe. And England shipped raw skins to France to be made into breeches, "though inferior in many respects to those that are made in London."³⁶

In the decade between 1763 and 1773, Georgia's deerskin trade with Britain through the port in Charleston averaged more than 240,000 pounds annually.³⁷ After the Revolution, Creek hunters provided skins to American government agents, who shipped to both Charleston and Savannah. The Creeks observed, however, that

most of the luxury trade items they coveted, such as silk fabric, were manufactured only in England and that the American government could not supply these goods to the factories. Because the Creeks were not willing to forfeit this lucrative market with Great Britain, they also shipped skins to British merchants operating, with the blessings of the Spanish, out of Pensacola and Mobile. Panton, Leslie, and Company, the most competitive of these firms, shipped skins both to England and various destinations in Europe. By the early 1790s, Panton was supplying more than half the deerskins sold on the London market.³⁸

During the last quarter of the eighteenth century, deer populations seem to have been on the decline. Surviving records for the Panton company "indicate a slow decline in Creek productivity, which in turn reflected the decreasing numbers of deer."³⁹ Although Creeks continued to hunt to supply the trade, women as well as men diversified to take advantage of informal trading networks as an alternative market to the government factories and the deerskin trade. Foodstuffs, baskets, and pottery—the products of women's labor—had never been a part of the men's formal trading with Europeans. But they were the perfect items to exchange with the growing numbers of neighboring white settlers. Women owned the crops they grew and they were in a position to dispose of surplus corn, squashes, melons, beans, and even poultry and eggs as they wished. Thus, the corn, turnips, and potatoes that spill from the basket held by the Creek man in the painting, in fact, would have belonged to a Creek woman. Women sold their surplus to travelers passing through Creek territory who needed to replenish supplies or they prepared meals for non-guest visitors, for which they were paid.⁴⁰

THE GENDER FRONTIER⁴¹

The most important feature both of Jefferson's assimilation policy and of Benjamin Hawkins's interaction with the Creeks in the painting is that the activities are gender-based. Government directives ad-

dressed Creek men, not women; Hawkins addresses Creek men, not the woman. This is a reflection of the gender hierarchy that Anglo-Americans inherited from the English. Male dominance, or patriarchy, was crucial to establishing and maintaining orderly households and orderly communities. Kathleen Brown has noted that in English plow agriculture men cultivated grain while women directed household activities.⁴² Under assimilation, Creek men were to replace their traditional outdoor activity of hunting with the outdoor activities of farming and raising livestock. On the other hand, Creek women were, according to Jefferson, to “[quit] the labors of the field for those which are exercised within doors.”⁴³ In order to become civilized, farming and animal husbandry were to be male responsibilities. Raising children, spinning, weaving, sewing, and the dairy were the province of women. Land, buildings, livestock, crops, and women—under the civilizing system of patriarchy all these things belonged to men.

Ironically, as an Indian agent Hawkins dealt more with Creek women than he did with men. His letters boast both of the willingness of Creek women to acquire new skills and of their accomplishments in adapting to new activities. The following examples are representative of his comments: “the women will labour and I will assist them”; “the women in some places make butter and cheese, the butter pretty good”; “the [white] weaver has just reported to me that he has wove fifty yards of good 500 thread at one house, the whole of which was spun by two Creek girls”; and “implements of husbandry and a plan to convert the corn raised by the women into clothing for themselves and families [i. e., by trade], will give a spur to their industry.”⁴⁴

In contrast, Hawkins was aggravated by the response of Creek men to his “civilizing” activities. In June of 1798, he vented his frustrations by letter to United States Secretary of War James McHenry, which reads in part: “They told me they did not understand the plan, they could not work, they did not want ploughs, it did not comport with the ways of the red people, who were determined to

persevere in the ways of their ancestors."⁴⁵ A year later, Hawkins must have been relieved to write McHenry that Creek men were willing to ranch: "The raising of stock is more relished by the Creeks than any other part of the plan devised for their civilization. They are now eagerly acquiring hogs and cattle by every means in their power."⁴⁶

Despite the unconventional way in which the civilization plan was taking root among the Creeks, in 1801 Hawkins sent Jefferson a "Sketch of the present state of the objects under the charge of the principal agent for Indian affairs south of the Ohio."⁴⁷ Here Hawkins painted for the President a positive picture of his civilizing efforts among the Creek (read "Creek men"), and especially in the areas of acquisition of livestock, agriculture, and home manufactures. Nowhere in the report did Hawkins specify that Creek women planted the experimental fields of cotton, flax, "wheat, barley, rye, and oats" or that women as well as men drove their cattle to market.⁴⁸ He made an example of Creek women only when enumerating the successes of teaching them to spin and weave cotton. That Creek women could clothe themselves and their families was important because "the women are more useful, and occupied in domestic concerns."⁴⁹ Hawkins did not add that Creek men were apprehensive about this cloth production. In the deerskin trade, men controlled the availability of cloth because they decided what to take in payment for skins. They feared that "the women by being able to clothe themselves will become independent and compel the men to help them in their labour."⁵⁰

CONCLUSION: INCORPORATION OR CIVILIZATION?

Several conclusions can be drawn from looking both at the *Benjamin Hawkins* painting and the contemporary primary source documents that relate to the subject. There is no doubt that the composition is visual propaganda; however, its rhetoric is not just about a

far-reaching political policy with benevolent overtones but rather about a policy of patriarchy. In reality, the Creeks had a serious interest in and desire for certain characteristics of white society. They were, however, determined to retain substantial aspects of their traditional way of life. Instead of Creek men becoming yeoman farmers, they became ranchers; some of them eventually owned African American slaves. And while the male-dominated formal economy favored men and excluded women, the growing informal frontier exchange and market economy allowed women to continue to function in traditional Creek roles while becoming independent producers. The gender-based divisions in Creek society were the antithesis of the patriarchal model that European Americans were trying to force, without much success, onto the Creeks. The government's civilization policy ultimately failed to distinguish between incorporation and civilization. Assimilation was not a quantitative process: the accumulation of European trade goods and skills did not equal "civilized."

MARTHA R. SEVERENS *has a master's degree from The Johns Hopkins University. She has been curator at the Greenville County Museum of Art since 1992, having held similar positions at the Portland (Maine) Museum of Art and the Gibbes Museum of Art in Charleston. Severens is the author of The Greenville County Museum of Art: The Southern Collection, Andrew Wyeth: America's Painter, and The Charleston Renaissance.*

KATHLEEN STAPLES *is an independent researcher and author specializing in textile history. In addition to authoring many articles and several books on various aspects of historic Western embroideries, she has organized textile exhibits at The Textile Museum in Washington, DC, and Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.*

1. Quoted in Theda Perdue, "Women, Men and American Indian Policy: The Cherokee Response to 'Civilization,'" in *Negotiators of Change: Historical Perspectives on Native American Women*, ed. Nancy Shoemaker (New York: Routledge, 1995), 91.
2. At one time owned by the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, this painting is now in the collection of the Greenville County Museum of Art in South Carolina. For an essay on the work, see Martha R. Severens, *Greenville County Museum of Art: The Southern Collection*, (New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1995), 34–35.
3. Quoted in Bernard Sheehan, *Seeds of Extinction: Jeffersonian Philanthropy and the American Indian*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1973), 120–121.
4. For a general biography of Benjamin Hawkins, see Merritt B. Pound, *Benjamin Hawkins: Indian Agent* (Athens: University of Georgia, 1951).
5. Horton to Styron, 13 December 1990, and Priddy to Styron, undated letter, files of the Greenville County Museum of Art.
6. Linda Crocker Simmons, "The Emerging Nation, 1790 to 1830," *Painting in the South: 1564–1980*, (Richmond: The Virginia Museum of the Fine Arts, 1983), 57, 202. Simmons concurs with the new identification of Benjamin Hawkins, Simmons to Sumpter Priddy, 28 March 1989, files of the Greenville County Museum of Art. Priddy is largely responsible for the identification of Benjamin Hawkins.
7. Washington's "Talk to the Cherokee Nation," 29 August 1796, in *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745–1799*, John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., vol. 35 (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1931), 195.
8. Hawkins to Dearborn, 7 January 1809 in Benjamin Hawkins, *Letters, Journals, and Writings of Benjamin Hawkins*, two volumes, ed. C. L. Grant, vol. II (Savannah: The Beehive Press, 1980), 548.
9. Ann Uhry Abrams, "Benjamin West's Documentation of Colonial History: *William Penn's Treaty with the Indians*," *Art Bulletin* (Vol. 64 [March 1982]), 1, 61.
10. See Robert G. Stewart, *Robert Edge Pine: A British Portrait Painter in America 1784–1788* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1979).
11. Severens, *Southern Collection*, 34.
12. Robbie Franklyn Ethridge, "A Contest for Land: The Creek Indians on the Southern Frontier, 1796–1816," Ph.D. dissertation, Athens: University of Georgia, 1996, 153.
13. *Ibid.* The plows are idealized forms. They lack a cross bar to stabilize the two handles, and the blade should consist of a wooden moldboard and cast iron share rather than the one-piece construction depicted. The one-piece moldboard/share was not patented until 1819. For more information on historic plows, see P. L. Ardrey, *American Agricultural Implements*, reprint (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 1973), 9; and Peter H. Cousins, *Hog Plow and Sift: Cultural Aspects of Early Agricultural Technology* (Dearborn, MI: The Edison Institute, 1973).
14. The word marchcoat is probably a corruption of the Odjibwa word *matchigode*, meaning petticoat. The matchcoat was originally made of fur and skins. Wool cloth—duffel or stroud—was substituted with the onset of the fur and deerskin trade; see the *Oxford English Dictionary* entry for "matchcoat." English manufacturers were well aware of the popularity of colorful woolen fabrics among American Indian groups. As early as 1714, Philadelphia merchant James Logan emphasized to his English factor that American Indians in his area were selective about the kinds of woolens they would accept in trade; fashion and fineness were scrutinized. Strouds should be colored blue or red and attention should be paid to the selvedge edges

"about which the Indians are Curious [i. e., exacting]. This is of the common breadth viz about 3 fingers with a Stripe or two of white generally. Sometimes in black in ye blue pcs. And always black in ye red"; quoted in Florence Montgomery, *Textiles in America, 1650–1870* (New York: Norton, 1984), 353.

15. These values were set by Spanish authorities in Pensacola in 1784. See William S. Coker and Thomas D. Watson, *Indian Traders of the Southeastern Spanish Borderlands: Pantón, Leslie and Company and John Forbes and Company, 1783–1847* (Pensacola: University of West Florida, 1986), 60.

16. Francis Paul Prucha, *Indian Peace Medals in American History* (Bluffton, S. C.: Rivolo Books, 1994), 8, 90–91; Martha Wilson Hamilton, *Silver in the Fur Trade, 1680–1800* (Chelmsford, MA: self-published, 1995), 37. Spanish authorities set prices in deerskins for some articles of silver: a pair of silver earrings was worth two pounds of skins, a silver brooch for the shirt, two to three pounds of skins; see Coker and Watson, *Indian Traders*, 60.

17. Hawkins to Mrs. Elizabeth House Trist, 25 November 1797 in Hawkins, *Letters, Journals, and Writings*, vol. 1, 164.

18. Quoted in Pound, *Benjamin Hawkins*, 160–161. Late in Washington's second term, a series of three Indian presentation medals was designed and struck in England, based on designs sketched by the American artist John Trumbull. Each depicted a different agricultural or domestic scene: livestock grazing near a house; men sowing and plowing, and an interior scene of women spinning and weaving. The obverse of each medal was inscribed "SECOND PRESIDENCY OF GEO. WASHINGTON MDCCXCVI." These images were intended to encourage their recipients to follow the civilizing activities of animal husbandry, farming, and domestic employment. The medals did not arrive, however, until well into John Adams's first year as President. They were not popular with American Indians, who evidently preferred an image of the President to pastoral and domestic scenes, and the designs were discontinued. For photographs of these medals, see Prucha, *Indian Peace Medals*, 89.

19. Sheehan, *Seeds of Extinction*, 33.

20. For an in-depth discussion of contemporary Enlightenment thought applied to plantation agriculture, slavery, and American Indians, see Joyce E. Chaplin, *An Anxious Pursuit: Agricultural Innovation and Modernity in the Lower South, 1730–1815* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1993).

21. William L. McDowell, Jr., ed., *Journals of the Commissioners of the Indian Trade, September 20, 1710–August 29, 1718* (Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department, 1955), 65.

22. Jefferson to Benjamin Hawkins, 18 February 1803 in Thomas Jefferson, *Thomas Jefferson: Writings* (New York: Library of America, 1984), 1115.

23. Jefferson to William H. Harrison, 27 February 1803 in *Ibid.*, 1118.

24. Hawkins to James Jackson, 18 February 1798 in Hawkins, *Letters, Journals, and Writings*, vol. 1, 174.

25. Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts (MESDA), card file for Karsten Peterson, Cabinetmaker.

26. Translation of correspondence provided by Johanna Brown, Director of Collections and Curator, MESDA.

27. Kathryn Braund notes that only four clan names are mentioned in colonial records: Wind, Tiger, Bear, and Eagle. Later chroniclers enumerate more. See Kathryn E. Holland Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels: Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685–1815* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1993), 11.

28. Observations of Caleb Swan in 1791; quoted in Ethridge, "Contest for Land," 11.

29. Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels*, 14.

30. Hawkins to Elizabeth House Trist, 4 March 1797 in Hawkins, *Letters, Journals, and Writings*, vol. 1, 88.
31. Hawkins journal entry 16 February 1797 in Hawkins, *Letters, Journals, and Writings*, vol. 1, 47.
32. *Ibid.*, 47–48.
33. Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels*, 42.
34. Malachy Postlethwayt, *The Universal Dictionary of Trade and Commerce*, 2nd ed., vol. 2 (London, 1757), 36.
35. William L. McDowell, Jr., *Documents Relating to Indian Affairs, May 21, 1750–August 7, 1767* (Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department, 1958), 388.
36. *Ibid.*
37. Coker and Watson, *Indian Traders*, 8.
38. *Ibid.*, 187.
39. Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels*, 72.
40. Ethridge, "Contest for Land," 149.
41. The term "gender frontier" has been borrowed from Kathleen M. Brown, "The Anglo-Algonquian Gender Frontier" in *Negotiators of Change: Historical Perspectives on Native American Women*, ed. Nancy Shoemaker (New York: Routledge, 1995).
42. Brown, "Anglo-Algonquian Gender Frontier," 28.
43. Jefferson to William H. Harrison, 27 February 1803 in Jefferson, *Writings*, 1118.
44. Hawkins to James McHenry, 19 November 1797; Hawkins to James Jackson, 18 February 1798; Hawkins to Silas Dinsmoor, 7 June 1798, in Hawkins, *Letters, Journals, and Writings*, vol. 1, 158, 174, 199.
45. Hawkins to James McHenry, 24 June 1798 in *Ibid.*, 209.
46. Hawkins to James McHenry, 9 January 1799 in *Ibid.*, 238.
47. The complete text of this document is reproduced in *Ibid.*, 351–356.
48. *Ibid.*, 352–353.
49. *Ibid.*, 354. Jefferson included Hawkins's "Sketch" as an attachment to his first annual message to the Seventh Congress; editor's note, *Ibid.*, 356.
50. Hawkins to Silas Dinsmoor, 7 June 1798 in *Ibid.*, 199.

APPENDIX A: TRANSLATION OF A LETTER FROM
KARSTEN PETERSEN TO BROTHER BENZIEN

The following document is the translation of a transcription of a portion of a letter written by Brother Karsten Petersen, dated Flint River, 20 November 1808 to Brother Benzien, who received it on 4 January 1809. It is likely that Benzien made, or caused to be made, the transcription and sent it to Bethlehem in fulfillment of Petersen's request that the Brother who sent him and Burkhardt a Losung receive their thanks.¹ The translation from German was prepared by Dr. Rose Simon, in consultation with Professor Adam Stiener, both of Salem College, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.



Born in 1776 near Flensburg, Denmark, Karsten Petersen was by trade a joiner and turner. He came to Salem, North Carolina, in 1806 and worked with the Salem gunsmith, learning that trade as well. After the Creek mission closed, Petersen established himself as a cabinetmaker in Salem, where he lived to be over eighty years of age.² Johannes Christian Burkhardt was born in Tengermeude, Alt Mark, Prussia, on 19 December 1771. When Burkhardt was thirteen, his father died, and the boy was apprenticed to learn the weaver's trade. A journeyman in 1792, he met with members of the Moravian church in Berlin and was converted and received into the Brethren's Church at Christiansfeld. After working among the Creeks, Burkhardt moved to Bethabara, North Carolina, and continued his trades. In 1808 he came to Salem, where he died 28 August 1846.³ As Administrator for the Unity, Reverend Christian Lewis Benzien was the member of the Salem Helper Conferenz fürs Ganze, or the General Helpers Conference, to whom the Moravian missionaries to both the Creek and the Cherokee Indians sent their letters and reports.⁴



Brother Burkard has already responded to your last letter of September 6 on October 23, wherein he also mentioned Colonel Hawkins's advice to build a Cornhouse, which is now finished; a good part of the sweet potatoes that we took from the ground on November 15 are stored there.⁵ We spared no pain cultivating these potatoes, which were the same kind that the Colonel gave us. These plants were so productive that the Colonel himself said he hadn't seen the like. (Presumably, the shoots or runners are meant here. B.)⁶ Many of these potatoes are three or four inches in diameter, and a foot and a half long. Here is evidence of God's blessing. I am not writing this to boast of our work, for what are we without God's blessing? Poor and suited for nothing. But our Good Lord gave us success: to Him be given praise and thanks and glory and honor. Here I must break off, as I cannot adequately describe God's beneficence to us. Altogether, we have harvested easily 30 bushels of potatoes, and our corn, which Colonel Hawkins let us bring in on October 29, came to some 50 bushels. We were very fortunate, that we also managed to bring in the blades and tops as fodder at the right time, because since then we have had constant rain. Also, we have a carload of pumpkins in our smokehouse, so that if a Brother comes to visit, we will be able to entertain him well with God's blessing.

On October 28, I finished with Colonel Hawkins's chimney, for which I am thankful to our good Lord that He gave me strength and good health in this hard work, as it was almost too much for one man to carry the incredibly large stones up so high. Of course I had a Negro to help every day, but they were so slothful and so unskilled, that they were

of little help; one of them made himself sick in order to get out of working, and another really became sick, so that I was always battling one or another, and no one was of any use for anything. Insofar as the Colonel has rendered us so many kind services since we came here, we were delighted to have the opportunity to make him this chimney free of charge as repayment, and we hope we have the approval of you beloved Brethren. On October 30 we were invited by him to lunch, and on November 1 he went to the Ocmulgee Garrison to dispense to the Indians their "Goods." On the 12th he came here again and brought us the money (\$43.25) for the first quarter of the year for spinning wheels and cooper work. We also received old letters of August from Springplace that informed us that the horse we had left there was found dead in the wild, which is to be lamented, but cannot be changed.¹ On November 2 we obtained a Losung, presumably from Bethlehem.² Please send our regards to the dear Brother who sent it to us, with [our] most affectionate and obliged appreciation.

Now something about the young Indian James, who has not let himself be seen here since March 4. He came here in the evening of November 2, and had another young Indian with him. They arrived late, as we had locked the door, and we were singing number 63 of the Liturgy with one another.³ We opened the doors, but did not let ourselves be interrupted until we had sung our Liturgy to the end, which gave us occasion to tell him that when we were singing or reading, we were speaking to God, Who lives in Heaven, and we therefore had not answered him. Then we told him of God's love for us and for all the Indians; and also asked him if he remembered what we had told him about our God the last time; he answered everything with "Yes." He bade us sing some more and we did so from the song book; he joined in with a song which we did not understand. He requested that we bake him some bread, which we did. As he was returning from Ocmulgee, he wanted to borrow tinware from Brother Burkard, and he was not pleased that nothing came of this request. One dares lend to no Indian, for he does not repay. This is the selfsame Indian, of whom I related on March 13 that Our dear Saviour would soon be moved to pity towards these blind heathen and permit the Bright Light of the Gospel to shine upon them, so that the reward of His Sorrow would be great.

Today before noon Brother Burkard went with Mr. Limbach to Ocmulgee to buy a few kinds of wire and other necessities that we will need in setting up our household.⁴ Indeed, he will also bring us letters from you, for which we have longed. —November 21. Today I began making spinning wheels, as I have not worked in the shop since August 26; I had finished making only one *Esval'tz'ky* as the Indians call a spinning wheel, when Colonel Hawkins called me into his house where we completed a design for a container for letters, nigh like a writing desk, having 30 drawers in it. He had me bring the boards straightaway from the sawmill, as well as the walnut boards for a chest of drawers, though they are not yet cured. I have more work than I can keep up with, and if only our good Lord grants us health, something can indeed be earned. November 22. Today Brother Burkard writes me that he is obliged to journey further to Milledgeville to buy provisions. To my great joy, there we also obtained Brother Reichel's letter, [and] found, to my grief, that the Saviour has not authorized Brother Kluge's and Gorthold Q's journey to visit us.⁵ But we must lay our hands upon our mouths and say: Lord, Thy counsel and will be done.⁶ Fourteen days ago, Brother Burkard also began to do our own laundry.⁷ I must close with tenderest greetings to all the Beloved, in unity with you all in Jesus's death.

1. The principal photocopy of this transcription was made in Bethlehem by Johanna Brown of MESDA. Perhaps as little as the salutation of Petersen's original letter is missing from the transcription.

2. Reverend Edmund Schwarze, *History of the Moravian Missions among Southern Indian Tribes of the United States* (Bethlehem, PA: Times Publishing Company, 1923), 95.

3. Schwarze, *Moravian Missions*, 95.

4. Adelaide Fries, trans. and ed., *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, vol. 7 (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission, 1943), 3061.

5. Colonel Benjamin Hawkins's acquaintance with the Moravians and their interest in establishing missions to the southern Indians came soon after his appointment as Superintendent of the Southern Indian Tribes. He visited Salem, "in November [of 1796], and when he was presented with a copy of the history of our Indian missions he said again that he wished we might come among these Indians, for he was expressly charged to promote their civilization in all ways in his power;" *Ibid.*, vol. 6, 2552. Hawkins provided great assistance and counsel to the Moravians in their efforts to establish missions to both the Cherokee and Creek Indians.

6. Br. Benzien likely added the explanation in parentheses as Petersen's letter to him was being transcribed for the perusal of others.

7. Ocmulgee Garrison was located east of the Flint River Agency, on the Ocmulgee River. The site of ancient Indian mounds for which it is even now designated a United States National Monument, Ocmulgee was a traditional gathering place for Indian ceremonies and festivals, including the annual distribution of supplies to individual families. This distribution represented payment for the lands surrendered in treaties with the American government. See www.nps.gov/ocmu. A similar distribution of goods to Cherokees near Springplace included "linen and woolen cloth, mufflers, dishes, kettles, knives, combs, and the like;" Carl Mauelshagen, trans., *The Journals of the Spring Place Mission in the Cherokee Nation, 1800-1836* (photocopy), 25 October 1807.

8. Brn. Petersen and Burkhardt left Salem on 31 March 1807 for Springplace, site of the Moravian mission to the Cherokees in what is now northwest Georgia. They reached Springplace on May 1 and stayed there with the Brn. and Srn. Gambold and Byhan for six months. Petersen's and Burkhardt's first departure for Flint River on October 6 took them only seven miles before they broke a wagon wheel and had to return to Springplace. Unable to repair the wheel, they departed again on October 30 on horseback and with rented pack horses, leaving behind the wagon and one of their own horses, which had become sick and unfit for the journey. Colonel Hawkins advised them, on their arrival at Flint River, to sell the horses they had brought "and in their place acquire others which had been raised there, since those from other areas do not do well in the hot climate of that locality and often are dispatched completely by the hordes of flies." Fries, *Records of the Moravians*, vol. 6, 2883; Mauelshagen, *Journals*, 1 May; 6, 29, 30 October; 24 November 1807; Bishop Kenneth G. Hamilton, trans., and ed., "Minutes of the Mission Conference Held in Springplace," in *The Atlanta Historical Bulletin* (Winter 1970), 51, 53.

9. *Losung* literally means "watchword." Here it refers to a devotional book better known as the Daily Texts—setting out one verse from the Old Testament and one from the New for each day of the year. Receiving a copy of the current book meant that each day Petersen and Burkhardt would be sharing their scriptural contemplation. See www.moravian.org/meanings.htm.

10. Number 63 of the Moravian Liturgy.

11. Christian Limbach was the assistant to Colonel Hawkins at the Agency; Fries, *Records of the Moravians*, vol. 6, 3106. With the buildings promised to them having been finished, Brn. Petersen and Burkhardt "began their own housekeeping on the 13th of October, after having been the guests of Colonel Hawkins for meals for eleven months." *Ibid.*, 2912.

12. Brother Reichel may be Bishop Carl Gotthold Reichel, the pastor of the Salem congregation and a member of the Helfer Conferenz, or his son, Gotthold; *Ibid.*, vol. 7, 3061. Missionaries to the Delaware Indians at White River, Reverend Johann Peter Kluge and Sr. Kluge had escaped the slaughter of some of their converts by other Indians in March of 1806. They lived in Lititz, Pennsylvania, and it was then determined that they would "live for a while in Bethabara, where he will teach school and will help with the services of the congregation." They reached Salem by stage on 18 October 1807—just about the time Petersen and Burkhardt were trying to leave Springplace for Flint River; *Ibid.*, vol. 6, 2883, 2894. Gotthold Q has not been identified.

13. A reference to Job 40:4.

14. Among the points of understanding established between Colonel Hawkins and the Moravian missionaries was this: "They can have their laundry done for \$1 per person per month"; Hamilton, "Minutes of the Mission Conference," 53. Apparently, Petersen and Burkhardt decided, once they had begun their own housekeeping, that they could use the \$24 per annum for something better.

“Useful, Ornamental or Necessary in this Province”

The Textile Inventory of John Dart, 1754

KATHLEEN STAPLES

INTRODUCTION

DURING THE MIDDLE DECADES of the eighteenth century, a number of Charles Town merchants prospered as South Carolina became an essential link in Great Britain's commercial network.¹ Despite disturbances in trade patterns and frequent wars, especially in the 1740s, Charles Town's wharves bustled with the colony's export shipments of rice, deerskins, naval stores, indigo, and wood and imports of slaves, wine, foodstuffs, and manufactured goods (*Figure 1*).² Among the latter imports, textiles comprised an important staple commodity. In 1738 Charles Town merchant Robert Pringle wrote a colleague in Hull, England, about the “Goods proper for So Carolina.”³ Of the sixty-seven items Pringle specified, thirty-four belonged to the textile trade: yardage of all kinds in silk, cotton, linen, and wool; ready-made clothing such as linen shirts, worsted hose, and felt hats; and two ready-made household textiles—“Ruggs for Negroes Beds” and “Bed Blanketts fine.”

An examination of newspaper advertisements in the *South-Carolina Gazette* during this period reveals that merchants imported a wide assortment of textiles as yardage, ready-made clothing, fab-

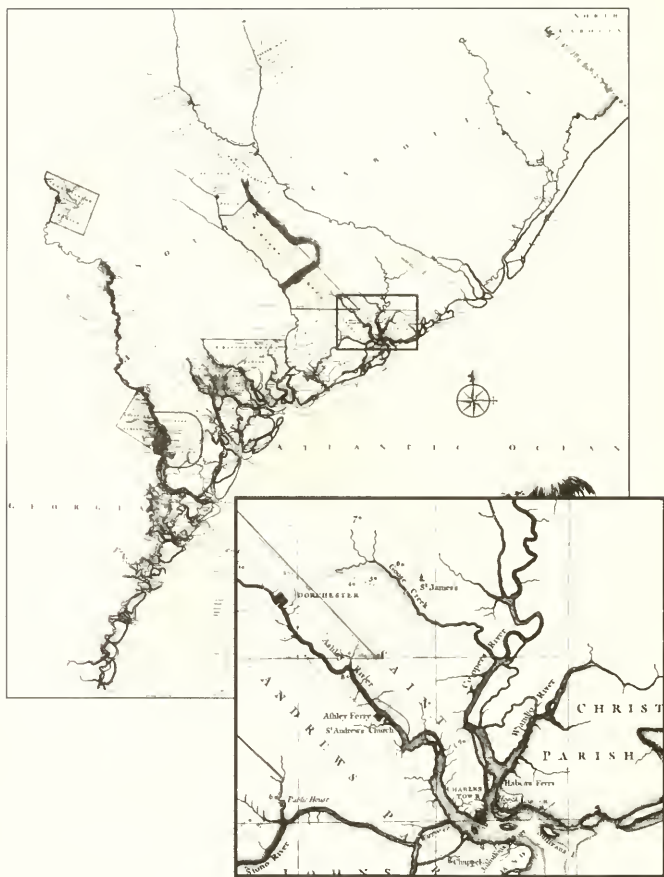


FIGURE 1. Detail from "A MAP of / SOUTH CAROLINA / And a PART of / GEORGIA....," shown with an inset detail of Charles Town, by Thomas Jefferys, 1757. Ink on paper; HOA 55"; WOA 47½". Acc. 3024.2.

rics with pattern parts marked on them, and haberdashery—that is, the small wares used in fashioning and trimming dress and furnishings, such as tapes, ribbons, edging laces, and sewing and embroidery threads. The listing of textiles and related items usually takes up more advertising space than any other single category of goods. Furthermore, the variety of linens, woolens, cottons, and silks is remarkable. For example, in November of 1751 Benjamin Dart and Company offered for sale twenty-eight different kinds of fabrics: eleven of linen, eight of wool, five of silk, three of cotton; and one with silk warp and worsted weft.⁴

As Robert Pringle's inclusion of slave bed rugs indicates, not all of these textiles, clothing, and related goods were destined for the high end of the trade, nor did purchased items remain in Charles Town. Together, the colony's merchants, shopkeepers, and traders could count among their customers and consumers not only society's elite, but also mechanics and unskilled laborers, schoolgirls, slaves, and American Indians. One way to illuminate the vitality of the textile trade in South Carolina is to examine the records of a merchant who continually handled these products.⁵ The probate inventory of John Dart, dated 1754, is particularly rich in textile goods. These goods underscore the diverse commercial opportunities Dart exploited to reach consumers in a surprisingly wide geographic area.

JOHN DART, MERCHANT

Nothing is known of John Dart before the record of his marriage to Hannah Livingston on 19 August 1726, in St. Andrews Parish, Berkeley County.⁶ Hannah was the widow of Reverend William Livingston, minister of the Independent Congregational Church in Charles Town. Church records show that the couple had six children, five daughters and a son; however, only the boy, Benjamin, survived to adulthood.⁷ Two years after Hannah's death in 1742, on 16 April 1744, Dart married Mary Smith Bassett, the widow of Reverend Nathan Bassett, who also had been a minister of the Indepen-

dent Congregational Church. They had a son John Sanford.⁸ Mary was dead within two years of their marriage. Dart took as his third wife a well-known and highly regarded Charles Town schoolmistress, Mary Hext. They were wed at St. Philips Church, where Mary was a member, on 24 April 1746.⁹

By 1730 Dart had established himself in Charles Town and was doing business on Tradd Street (*Figure 2*).¹⁰ Although a merchant and therefore a wholesaler, he wanted a share of the local consumer market. In an early notice he advertised that goods at his store were “to be sold . . . at Whole sale or Retail.”¹¹ As well as attracting business in Charles Town, Dart was interested in commercial opportunities inland. He and two partners, Thomas Binford and James Smyth, were co-owners of “a large Store and Dwelling-house” in Willtown, which Dart advertised for rent in June 1733. It must have been operational by August of that year; Dart announced that Smyth was no longer a concern in the business and that all debts should be paid to either himself or Binford.¹² In 1749, he brought in his son Benjamin as an equal partner and the business name was changed to Benjamin Dart and Company.

Although John Dart was not among those who ranked at the top of Charles Town mercantile society, he could count among his associates and closest friends some of the wealthiest merchants in the town. In the mid-1740s he and Archer Smith purchased the *Mary*, a twenty-ton schooner built in Charleston in 1744. This two-mast, sea-worthy vessel was fast, which made it ideal for privateering and the slave trade as well as coastal transportation of goods. In about 1748 Dart became part owner of the *St. Phillip*, an eighty-ton ship, together with five other prominent Charleston merchants: Benjamin Smith, Gabriel Manigault, Othniel Beale, William Webb, and John Palmer. While slower than a schooner, this three-mast ship was capable for circumnavigating the earth.¹³ In his will Dart referred to his “Loving Friends Gabriel Manigault [*sic*] and George August Merchants”; the witnesses to the document were Charles Pinckney, Thomas Barkdale, and Isaac Mazyck.¹⁴

Not content solely with commercial ventures, Dart entered the political arena with his election to the Tenth Royal Assembly in 1735. He was elected to an additional five assemblies intermittently until his death.¹⁵ He also held the important appointed post of Commissary General of the colony, for which he was commissioned in 1737 and which he held for his lifetime. At various points during this same time period, he held a total of five additional commissioner positions.¹⁶ These considerable political activities and the professional relationships they engendered ensured that Dart was in the know about virtually every major branch of South Carolina's trade.

In addition to his business inventory, at his death John Dart had land holdings that included a plantation, Dartfield, in the parish of St. Paul; a house with gardens and lands called Sanford in the suburb of Ansonborough; two lots in Beaufort, and one thousand acres in Kingstree Township.¹⁷

THE INVENTORY

An examination of the probate inventory of the business, Benjamin Dart and Company, in which John was half owner, together with a shipment of merchandise just received by the company from London, reveals an astonishing selection of woven goods.¹⁸ These can be divided into four categories: textile yardage; ready-made clothing, apparel accessories, and fabrics with pattern parts marked on them; finished household textiles; and haberdashery (see Appendices A through E). Of these goods there are nineteen discernable types of woolens, eighteen of linen, eight of cotton, and seven of silk. Another five kinds of textiles are composed of mixed warp and weft, for example, linen and cotton, linen and wool, and silk and worsted. The value of these goods is a bit over £2,225 and 10.4 percent of the total appraised value of the commercial goods, which amounted to £21,236 and some coins.

An analysis of the kinds of linens, woolens, cottons, and silks reveals that the bulk of the inventory was intended for clothing and

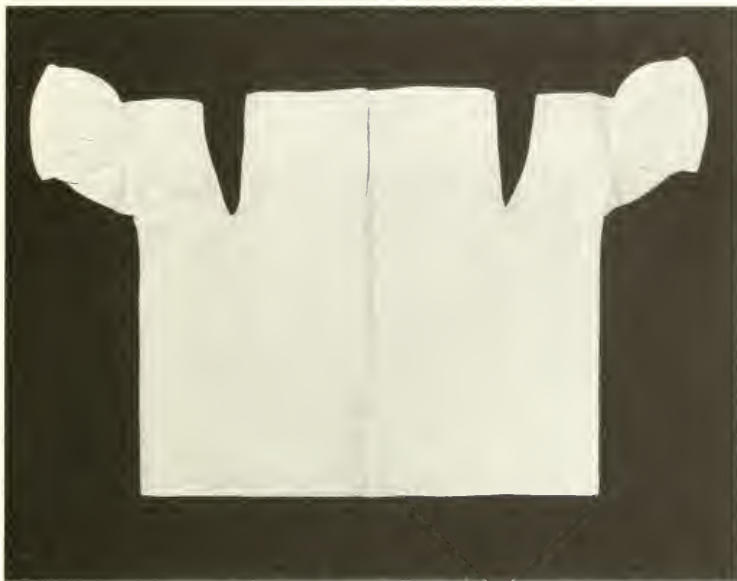


FIGURE 3. Baby shirt, linen. England, c. 1800. This style of infant shirt was ubiquitous throughout the eighteenth century. *MESDA, Ginsburg fabric book II*, 18.

household furnishings. While not a comprehensive analysis of the goods, the following examples illustrate the range of goods and the uses to which they were put. At the high end for linen fabrics, “11 yards fine Holland Lawn” and “3 Remnants of Clear & Spotted Lawn” were the first choices for men’s shirts, women’s shifts, neck handkerchiefs, ruffles, and show aprons (*Figure 3*). The “20 ps. 10 remnts. of Cambrik” also were appropriate for handkerchiefs and aprons as well as curtains. Less expensive but sturdy garlick, diaper, and tandem were made into more serviceable shirts, petticoats, and jackets as well as curtains and other furnishing needs where a light-to-medium-weight fabric was required.

FIGURE 4.
 Fragment, plain
 weave silk with bro-
 cading and tobine
 stripes. France, c.
 1770. MESDA,
Ginsburg fabric book I,
 13.



FIGURE 5. Frag-
 ment, silk damask,
 "lace" pattern. Prob-
 ably England, 1750s.
 MESDA, *Ginsburg fabric*
book I, 7.



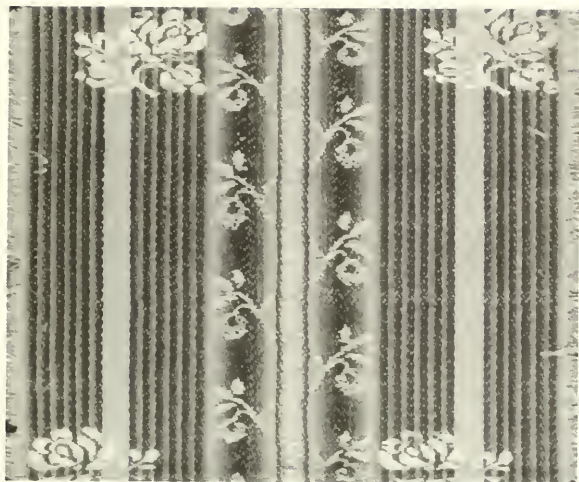


FIGURE 6. Fragment, worsted damask with brocaded elements. Norwich, England, 1760s. In the colonies this type of fabric, known as russel, was used for banyans, women's shoes, and furnishings, *MESDA, Ginsburg fabric book I*, 20.

Rich silk tobine and satin-weave silk provided surfaces that literally as well as figuratively reflected the wealth of the wearer (*Figures 4 and 5*). To ward off winter chills, woolens and worsteds in the forms of richly patterned worsted damask, fine napped broadcloth, and lighter weight serge—together with silk sarsenet linings, matching tape trimmings, and gold and silver laces—were used for bed hangings and curtains as well as men's and women's clothing (*Figure 6*).

Cotton fabrics such as striped muslin and printed chintz, both imported from India, were colorful clothing and furnishing fabrics, especially appropriate for the summer months (*Figures 7 and 8*). Mixed cotton and linen fabrics such as the "80 ps. & 3 Remnant Cotton & Linning [linen] Checks," valued at over £132, had many household uses (*Figure 9*). Check fabrics feature colored warp and weft stripes that form squares where the two elements intersect. The stripes could be white and various shades of one color, for example,

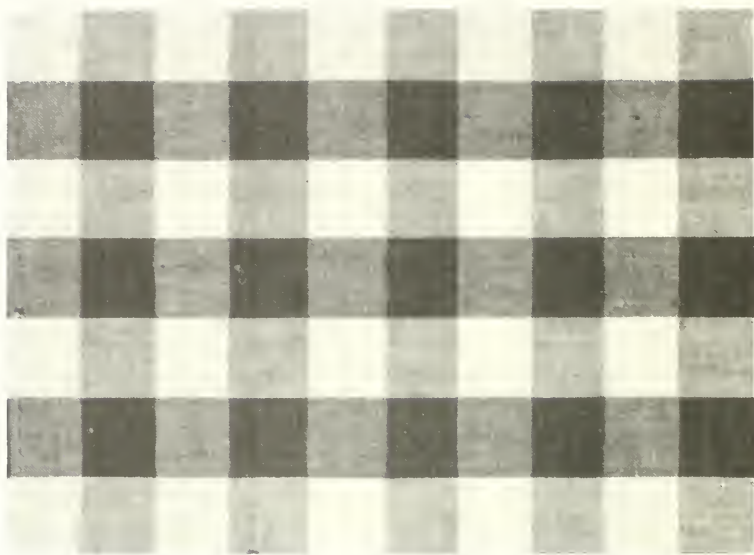


FIGURE 7. Bedcover, mordant painted and resist dyed cotton. India export, 1750–1800. HOA 80"; WOA 82½". Acc. 2421.



FIGURE 8. Palampore, mordant painted and resist dyed cotton and bearing the stamp of the United East India Company. India export, eighteenth century. This bedcover has a tradition of being owned and used in Charleston in the eighteenth century. HOA 124¼"; WOA 89". *Courtesy of The Charleston Museum, Charleston, SC, acc. HT4841.*

FIGURE 9. Fragment, plain weave
linen, check pattern.
England, second half
eighteenth century.
*MESDA, Ginsburg
fabric book II, 19.*



blue, green, yellow, or red; or white and multicolored, for instance, green and red or red and blue.¹⁹ Checks were most often used for bed covers and hangings and especially for chair coverings. Professional upholsterers were consulted for the construction of bed and window hangings and furniture covers as well as fitting furniture with padding and textiles.

In the eighteenth century, when a death occurred, survivors who had the financial means wore special mourning clothes, which were cut to current fashion but made of specific fabrics. The inventory reflects that need for black mourning fabrics—wool crape, silk alamode, and silk/worsted bombazine.²⁰ It also includes “116½ Yards” and “9½ Yards” of white flannel. As well as undergarments, bandages, and inexpensive everyday wear, wool flannel was used for shrouds.²¹

The accounting lists several varieties of diaper, a linen or linen/cotton fabric, usually bleached, woven with a diamond pattern whose spaces were sometimes filled with woven floral and leaf patterns.²² The “37½ Yards Diaper” listed in the inventory could have been fashioned into men’s waistcoats, women’s petticoats, or bed curtains. Tablecloths and napkins made of diaper were fashionable for dining tables; the inventory lists enough for “3 Long suits.” Babies born into the best families wore absorbent “Clouting Diaper,” or swaddling clothes.²³

Well-to-do customers also would have been interested in some of the ready-made accessories and household textiles at Dart’s store. His “5 Bedside Turkey Carpets” (woven woolen pile fabric in imitation of Oriental carpets), “5 Cotton Counterpins” (counterpanes, or bed coverings), and “1 Bed Quilt” are examples of furnishing textiles found in wealthy eighteenth-century households. Among the articles of ready-made clothing, a gentleman might fancy the “Marcella drawn Coat.” This entry refers to the practice of selling only the front sections—left and right sides, collar, and pocket flaps—of a decorated waistcoat, which were drawn on a single piece of fabric with the needlework already completed in the shapes (*Figure 10*). The example in Dart’s accounts is of fine stuffed quilting called Macella, or Marseilles, work made in France. In Charles Town, a tailor would measure his client, create a fitted waistcoat back from a plain fabric in his stock, and cut out and join the decorated front sections to the back. As only the front sections of the waistcoat would show when it was worn with a coat, only those sections needed to be decorated; less expensive plain fabrics sufficed for that part of the garment that was unseen. A gentleman’s outfit was not complete without knitted silk hose, held up with silk knee garters. Relaxing at home and with his wig removed, a man might don a silk cap. In inclement weather an overcoat, or surtout (spelled in the inventory “sutout”), would be called for to protect a fashion investment. Fashion-conscious ladies would have been drawn to the scarlet cloaks, silk hose and gloves, and the decorative neck handker-

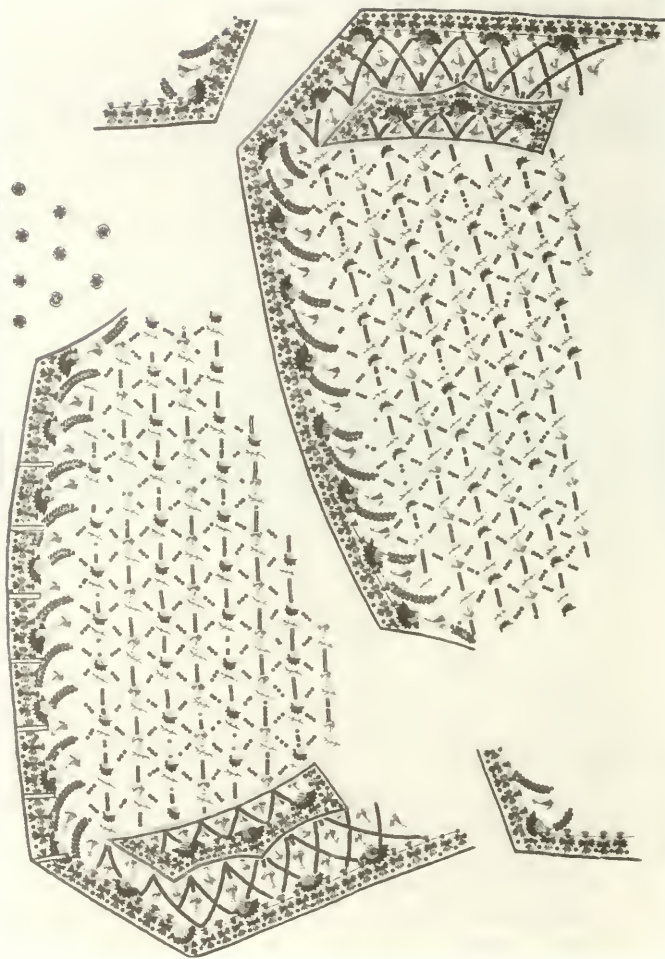


FIGURE 10. Unmade waistcoat panel, silk embroidered with silk, silver, and sequins. France or Britain, c. 1780. This panel includes the fronts, pocket flaps, lapel facings, and button covers. *Courtesy of Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, acc. G1903-38, gift of Mr. William Strole.*



FIGURE 11. Cloak, scarlet wool broadcloth trimmed with wool shag and silk-covered buttons, partially lined with silk. Britain or America, 1775–1810. This example was worn in Cazenovia, New York. *Courtesy of Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, acc. 1989-402.*

chiefs of silk and cotton imported from India and called romals (*Figure 11*).²⁴

Wealthy customers employed the services of a tailor, seamstress, or household servant with sewing skills to create wearing apparel and personal accessories. For males who could not afford the luxury of clothing that fit properly, Dart offered breeches patterns drawn out on worsted and silk fabrics, which could be cut out and assembled to more or less conform to the body of the wearer. Also available for artisans, seamen, the working poor, and indentured and enslaved ser-

vants were ready-made coats, jackets, loose-fitting trousers, and shirts (*Figure 12*). These garments were cut from woolens such as plains and Yorkshire cloth or the coarse linen known as osnaburg, available unbleached or in stripes, checks, and solid colors. Worsted and cotton caps were available as well as worsted hose, made of fabric rather than knitted and cut on the bias to conform to the leg when worn.

Dart did not ignore the needs of those who relied on textiles in their work. For example, thick, coarse linen was essential to the shipping industry. Various types of coarse linen—osnaburg, dowlas, hessin, ticklinburg, buckram, and canvas—were made into sacks and bags and used as wrapping materials for storage and transport. Dart also sold sailcloth, probably to make sails for the periaugers used to transport hogsheads of rice and other goods from plantation to wharf.²⁵ Bunting, a narrow woolen plain and open weave fabric dyed various shades was made especially for ships' colors. It was "woven with two-ply warps to withstand the strain in weaving and for greater strength when flying in the wind. . . ."²⁶ Seamen and watermen would have need of witney cloth, a heavy loose woolen fabric "which serve Seamen for their Hammocs. . . . Wrappers to pack their Blankets in, and Tilt-cloths for Bargemen."²⁷

Dart's textile inventory points to extremely specialized uses for textiles and related goods. The entries for "1 ps. marking Canvas" and "9¼ Yards marking canvas" likely refer to fabric for making embroidered samplers, one of the tangible products of a girlhood education (*Figure 13*). In the eighteenth century, canvas referred to a plain weave linen of a relatively balanced weave that was open enough to allow a sewing needle to pass between the warp and weft threads. The term *marking* referred to embroidering alphabet letters, an essential feature of Charleston samplers of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In practical application, an owner's initials were often embroidered on articles of clothing and household linens for identification purposes. Other needlework-related entries include over eight pounds in weight of colored silk thread (embroidery, not sewing silk) and one pound in weight of "cruels." Crewel



FIGURE 12. Detail, "Battle of Portobello" fan, signed by M. Gamble. London, England, 1740. The sailor at right wears clothing and accessories typical of ready-made articles sold by John Dart and his son. *Courtesy of Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, acc. 1981-195.*

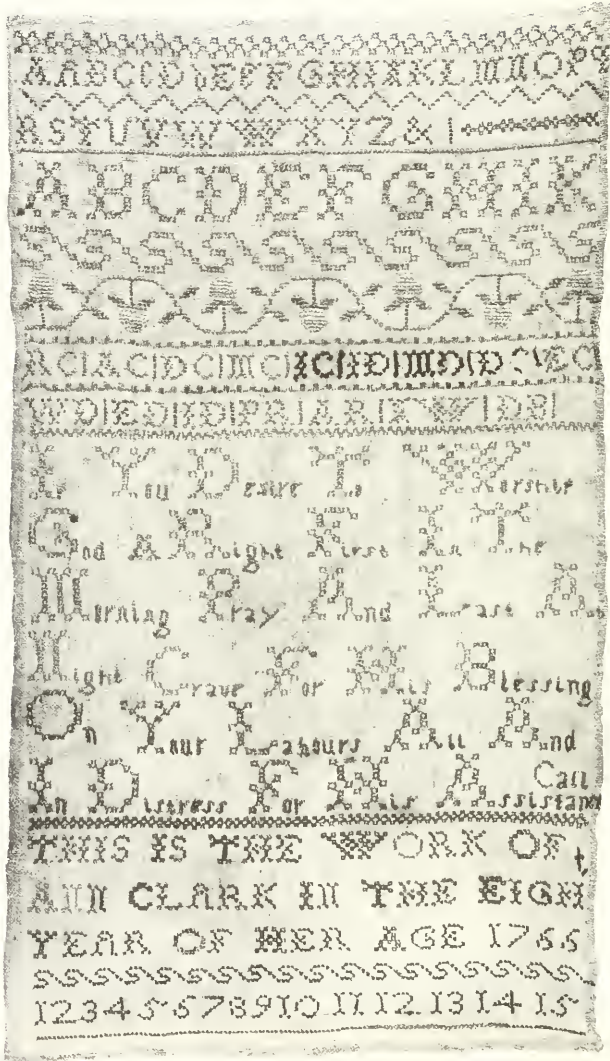


FIGURE 13. Embroidered sampler, Ann Clark, dated 1766; Lowcountry, South Carolina. Twisted silk floss on unbleached linen; 29 warp x 33 weft threads per in. Stitches: marking, counted satin, square eyelet. WOA 9½"; HOA 16⅞". Acc. 50-9.

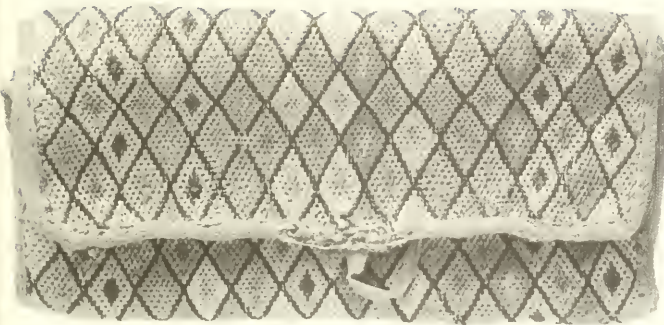


FIGURE 14. Pocketbook, probably for a man, worsted embroidery on linen. America, 1740–1780. HOA (folded) 4"; WOA 8". *Acc. 1099.3.*



FIGURE 15. Detail, ruffles with tambour work and Dresden embroidered lace. England, 1750–1800. Tambour hook, mother-of-pearl handle with steel hook. France, 1800–1820. *Courtesy of the author.*

yarn is a two-ply slack twist worsted yarn used for embroidering designs on everything from bed furnishings and chair seat covers to women's jackets, pockets, and pocketbooks (*Figure 14*). The "52 Ozs. Flowring Cotton" may refer to the cotton thread used in executing tambour work, a process of working single rows of chain stitch on fabric, using a tiny hook, to create delicate flowery designs (*Figure 15*).

While Dart's textile inventory, taken as a whole, can be described as "something for everyone," that assessment fails to recognize a more profound function of at least some of the materials. The flat textiles, finished and unfinished dress goods, and haberdashery constitute a document of written and implied sumptuary regulations for dress. These restrictions, created by the highest levels of Charleston society, were intended to enforce social stratification with a symbol that was instantly recognizable in public: the cut of one's clothes. For the wealthiest members of Charleston society, public display of wealth via clothing was pervasive and necessary. When George Whitfield preached in Charleston in the 1730s and 40s, he did not fail to notice the excesses in his audiences' clothing. Indeed, he doubted, "whether the court-end of London could exceed them in affected finery [and] gaiety of dress."²⁸ Another contemporary visitor noted, "The Men and Women who have a Right to the Class of Gentry . . . dress with Elegance and Neatness."²⁹

If merchants and planters allowed themselves gay and elegant dress—and expected each other to apparel themselves in this way—what were the expectations for the lower classes? This question must have weighed heavily on South Carolina's wealthiest because legislation was enacted in an attempt to control the wearing apparel among these groups. One regulation enumerated the amount and type of clothing a master could present a female indentured servant as part of her freedom dues: "a waistcoat and petticoat of 'new half tick or coarse plains', two new shifts of white linen, a blue apron, two caps of white linen, and a new pair of shoes and stockings."³⁰ Tick or ticking was a linen twill material made in various grades and put to such diverse purposes as brewers' aprons, army tents, covers for feather-stuffed mattresses and pillows, and women's stays. Coatse plains were cheap woolen fabrics manufactured in Wales and most commonly made into slave clothing. In South Carolina advertisements, plains were also called "Negro cloth." The shift was worn

under the waistcoat and probably did not extend much past the waist in length. The linen of which it and the caps would have been made was probably bleached holland, but not fine in weave. The stockings were likely of woven cloth rather than knit, the worsted material cut on the bias for stretch. The Dart inventory has entries for a variety of hollands, worsted hose, and for plains in three colors: blue, green, and white. While ticking is not listed in the inventory, it is among the textiles Dart imported from London in 1748 and 1753.³¹

For South Carolina's lowest social stratum, enslaved African Americans and American Indians, sumptuary legislation was enacted in 1735, and reiterated in 1740. The introductory statement makes clear the intent: to prevent advancement in social station by regulating dress. "[M]any of the slaves in this Province wear clothes much above the condition of slaves. . . ." The Slave Act of 1735, as it is referred to today, prescribed not only the materials acceptable for a slave's clothing but the maximum value of those materials. Allowed were "negro cloth, duffelds, coarse kearsies, osnabrigs, blue linnen, checked linen or coarse garlix or calicoes, checked cottons or scotch plaids." The price was not to exceed "ten shillings per yard for the said checked cottons, scotch plaids, garlix or calico." The only exemption allowed was for clothing worn by servants working as liverymen.³²

In reality these sumptuary laws served only to set minimum standards for slave clothing. German pastor Johann Bolzius observed that on South Carolina plantations enslaved adult males were issued five yards of white or blue "Negro cloth," a woolen textile, enough to make a coat and long pants. Women were given slightly more yardage for their yearly allocation. In the summer, "[s]ome give them nothing . . . but some give the women a short skirt of coarse linen and the men a pair of pants of coarse linen and a cap or bad hat for the head, and a handkerchief for the women to cover their head." A woolen blanket or bed cover was given each slave every three years.³³ Lowcountry plantation records confirm Bolzius's ob-



FIGURE 16. *The Old Plantation*, unknown artist, attributed to South Carolina, c. 1790. Watercolor on paper. The clothing and accessories worn by these African-Americans are a combination of allocated and acquired textiles. Although the garments reflect a western style, the headgear has cultural ties with Africa. *Courtesy of the Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Museum, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, VA, acc. 1935.301.3.*

servations for textile allocations.³⁴ However, enslaved plantation workers added to their clothing by purchasing additional fabrics and ready-made items (*Figure 16*). Johann Bolzious noted that in South Carolina, they could “plant something for themselves” to sell “and buy trifles with the proceeds.”³⁵ Many runaway notices in the *South-Carolina Gazette* reflect the cheap and minimal nature of plantation slave clothing; “[b]rought to the work house two Negro men, one with a white negro cloth jacket and osnaburg trousers, the other with a white negro cloth jacket and trousers.”³⁶ Other plantation runaways, however, possessed more apparel, which, no doubt, they themselves purchased. One owner reported the absence of a mulatto named John Couture, who was wearing a white “negro cloth” jacket and breeches and osnaburg shirt when he went missing; “[h]e may have other cloaths.”³⁷

Despite regulations, enslaved African Americans working in Charles Town wore a variety of clothing styles in an array of fabrics. Masters often provided specialized clothing, which depended both on the servant’s occupation and visibility in the white community. Many of Charles Town’s enslaved also participated in a system of self-hire to earn personal money.³⁸ They, thus, could purchase used clothing made of good quality fabrics, purchase fabrics of value to construct their own garments, or visit a tailor to have garments made-to-measure. Evidence for all these practices can be found in advertisements for runaways posted in the *South-Carolina Gazette*. Owners habitually described their missing servants by describing what they had on when last seen. There is a great variety in the articles of dress enumerated, especially for females, and it is important to note that owners rarely declared that the clothing was stolen.

Livery, which was exempted from South Carolina sumptuary laws, was a specialized uniform worn by household bondmen whose occupations made them highly visible (*Figures 17 and 17a*). Usually constructed of woolen fabric such as broadcloth, shag, or velvet, the three-piece livery suit had the collar, cuffs, and sometimes the waistcoat made of a contrasting color. Further embellishments included



FIGURE 17. Livery coat, Britain, 1795–1825, wool broadcloth trimmed with wool and linen livery lace and cast brass buttons, lined with wool and linen. *Courtesy of Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, acc. 1954-1032.*



FIGURE 17-a. Detail of button and trim.

elaborate woven edgings, or “livery lace,” and brass buttons.³⁹ Suggestions of livery wear appear in newspaper advertisements. George was reported missing by his owner on 12 March 1754, and was last seen wearing a blue coat with brass buttons. On July 4 of the same year a runaway was brought to the workhouse wearing a red jacket with metal buttons.

Other male household servants were likely given a suit of clothing that, in less expensive fabrics and trimmings, approximated the dress of white gentlemen. For example, a slave from Georgia named Quacoe was reported missing with some white and checked shirts, a light colored cloth frock coat, and breeches. Another owner declared of his runaway servant, named Prince, “As he has a great many suits of cloaths, it’s impossible to describe his dress.”⁴⁰

The clothing described in notices for enslaved female runaways at mid-century exhibits even more variation. In fact, in 1744, the grand jury listed grievances that included female slaves. “[I]t is apparent that Negro Women in particular do not restrain themselves in their cloathing as the Law requires, but dress in Apparel quite gay and beyond their Condition. . . .”⁴¹ A “Negro wench” named Bess was wearing prescribed slave clothing, a blue “negro cloth habit,” when she disappeared. Kate carried with her both a large blue and white striped gown and one of white calico. She must have been wearing yet a third garment. Venus had on a white garlick gown “with a handkerchief about her head.” Dinah left wearing an osnaburg shift, blue and white striped jacket, and two petticoats—one of blue linen and the other “quilted green,” probably of wool.⁴²

How do the above descriptions of slave clothing compare to the textile inventory in Dart’s shop? John Dart owned slaves, both to work his rice fields at Dartfield and to take care of his family and possessions at Sanford. Thus, he would have been aware of the kinds of textiles needed to clothe them according to their duties in- and out-of-doors in both urban and rural contexts. His inventory entries reflect the wide range of textiles that would meet these requirements. For example, planters needed hundreds of yards of textiles to



FIGURE 18. Gown, wool damask brocaded with wool. Textile made in Norwich, England, 1750–1765. A wool gown such as this example could have been worn by a household slave as well as an indentured servant, working woman, and mistress of a household for everyday wear. *Courtesy of Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, acc. 1088-223.*

supply their field workers' basic clothing needs. Dart's supply of 647½ yards of white plains plus additional pieces (a "piece" may have measured twenty feet or more in length) in blue and green would have provided field work clothing for more than one hundred twenty-five men, assuming that Johann Bolzius's estimate of five yards per person is correct. Sixty-three and a quarter yards of Irish and German osnaburg could have made up into about eighteen shifts for females.⁴³ Finer textiles for clothing for household servants are represented as well. Elaborate livery coats were made of woolens such as broadcloth or Yorkshire cloth, lined with shalloon and embellished with laces woven of colored silk with silver and gold threads. Female household servants could be clothed in worsted damask, solid-colored calamanco, striped cotton, and printed calico, with a variety of cotton and linen handkerchiefs to choose from to bind about their heads (*Figure 18*). Enslaved Charlestonians who had independent financial resources would have been able to afford the highest quality linen, hand-painted cottons, and English, French, and Chinese silks.

THE INDIAN TRADE

In the eighteenth century the leather-working trade was one of the largest industries in England. Hides were used for

men's fashions, gloves, footwear, headgear, horse gear, and book-binding. Owing to a virulent plague that sporadically infected European cattle herds, beginning in 1710—it was particularly deadly in 1750—Britain banned the importation of cattle and cowhides.⁴⁴ The shortage of hides increased the demand for the skins of American white-tailed deer, obtained through trade with American Indians. Yellow buckskin breeches, especially, were becoming increasingly fashionable by mid-century, not just for tradesmen but also for members of the gentry (*Figure 19*).⁴⁵

Early in the 1720s, the profits from Indian trade in deerskins had secured Charles Town's preeminence as a trading port. Although in the next two decades traders from Georgia and Virginia encroached on the monopolies once held by South Carolina traders, in 1750 Charles Town managed to export 150,000 skins, or 20 percent of the value of the colony's exports for that year.⁴⁶ At one time or another the Carolina Indian trade involved most of the major tribes from the southern Appalachian Mountains to the lower Mississippi Valley. In 1751 Governor James Glen reported, "[t]here are many Nations of Indians in Alliance with this government, the Cherokees, the Creeks, the Chickesaws, the Catawbas and a great part of the Chactaws, besides many Tribes that are incorporated with some of these nations, or that live peaceably within our Settlements, the Charaws, [Utchees?], the Notchees, Pedees, Etavans, and others."⁴⁷

For the years 1735 through 1775 over six hundred merchants, factors, and ship captains exported deerskins



FIGURE 19. Breeches, deerskin. Probably Southwest frontier, 1800–1825. *Courtesy of Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, acc. 1993-13B.*

FIGURE 20. Moccasins, deerskin, linen and woolen fabric, and glass beads. Eastern America, early nineteenth century. The deerskin form of these Eastern Woodlands moccasins is traditional; however, they have been augmented and embellished with trade items: a linen lining, red stroud tops and flaps, and beaded decoration. *Courtesy of The Charleston Museum, Charleston, SC, acc. ETN36.*



from Charles Town bound for London or Bristol. In this list John Dart ranked one hundred forty-fourth in amount of export duties paid.⁸ In addition, as Commissary General of the colony, a position he held from 1737 until his death, Dart was privy to discussions of all the commercial concerns that might have had political repercussions, the Indian trade being an ever-present topic.⁹

South Carolina strictly regulated its Indian traders by requiring a license to do business and limiting the Indian "town or towns" in which the trader could work. The license fee was £4, with an additional minimum £200 surety bond to be posted. Traders were required to report to a Commissioner for the Indian Trade what items

were being traded for Indian goods as well as an inventory of Indian goods brought out of the territory. In addition, traders were to keep a journal of events during their stays.⁵⁰

Not only were the traders regulated but the prices of trade goods calculated in deerskins were set as well. While guns, flints, powder, and bullets were staples in the traders' inventory, textiles were crucial commodities used as payment for deerskins. What Kathryn Braund has noted for the Creek applied to all commerce with American Indians: it could as easily have been called the cloth trade as the deer-skin trade.⁵¹ This was not only because of the volume and variety of textiles involved but because textiles had become staple goods in native cultures, used to augment or replace parts of traditional native deer-skin attire. The essential trade textiles included strouds, duffels, blankets, plain, figured, and striped calicoes, coarse and fine linen, ready-made shirts, hose, worsted caps, bindings, gartering, and tapes (*Figures 20, 21, and 22*).

An examination of the list of prices for goods for the Cherokee trade drawn up in 1751 reveals that out of thirty-one items enumerated, a significant number are textiles, dress and accessories, or items of haberdashery:

A Blanket	3 Bucks or 6 Does
2 Yards Strouds	3 Bucks or 6 Does
A Garlix Shirt	2 Do. or 4 Does
Osnbrigs, 1 Yard	1 Doe Skin
1 Pr. of Hose	1 Buck and one Doe, or 3 Does, &c.
Handkerchiefs of India	2 Bucks
Ditto, common	Ditto
2 yds stript Flannen [i.e., flannel]	2 Bucks or 4 Does
Fine Rufel Shirts	4 Bucks or 8 Does
Callicoos	2 Bucks or 4 Does
Callicoos	Ditto, 1 Buck and 1 Doe, or 3 Does
Fine Ribands	1 Buck 2 Yards, or 4 Does



FIGURE 21. Bandolier bag, woolen fabric, glass beads. Eastern America, early nineteenth century. Although Europeans introduced the bandolier form, the construction and bead ornamentation are expressions of Native American preferences and values. This example is of blue duffel; the geometric designs were worked in imported beads. *Courtesy of The Charleston Museum, Charleston, SC, acc. FTN*.*

Gartring	2 Bucks per piece or 4 Does
Caddice Ditto	2 Bucks or 4 Does per piece
2 Yards stompt [i.e., stamped] Flanen	2 Bucks or 4 Does
Worsted Caps	1 Buck and 1 Doe or 3 Does ⁵²

Stroud, a sturdy English broadcloth usually dyed scarlet, was a pan-Indian trade textile. Yardage was fashioned into men's leggings, women's skirts, men's breechcloths—also called flaps—and matchcoats.⁵³ About two yards of stroud were needed for a matchcoat; one quarter yard for a flap.⁵⁴ Ribbons, gartring, and caddice tape all were used for bindings and for garters. Handkerchiefs, also called neck handkerchiefs, could be used as shawls and to bind about the head for a turban effect. Three yards of linen osnaburg made a plain shirt; cotton calicoes were fashioned into women's waistcoats and skirts. On average, a Cherokee killed about thirty deer per year.⁵⁵ Thus, a native hunter might spend much of what he earned in a year to clothe himself and his wife.

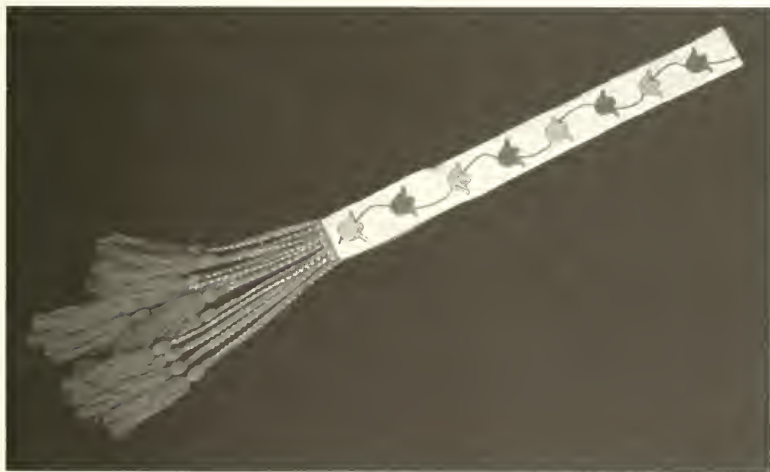


FIGURE 22. Sash or belt, woolen fabric (stroud), glass beads. Eastern America, early nineteenth century.

Courtesy of The Charleston Museum, Charleston, SC, acc. ETN541.

Gifts of textiles also were used to cement alliances with the various Indian nations. Catawba Indians living at the Congaree Fort in February of 1752 received a shipment of goods (no foodstuffs were included), presumably gifts ordered sent by Governor Glen to the Catawba to prevent an "alienation of affections" from the English. Of the thirty entries, ten percent were from the textile trade: stroud, striped duffel, embossed serge, osnaburg, white and checked shirts, men's coats, gartering, caddice, sewing needles, thread, and scissors.⁵⁶

Textiles also can be viewed as social negotiators used in the ritual of trade discussions between the provincial government and American Indians (*Figure 23*). Experienced Indian trader and Charles Town merchant Edmond Atkin noted in 1755, "[t]he place of Interviews and Treaties with Indian Chiefs is at Charles Town, from whence a Trade is carried on among several Numerous and Independent Nations . . . [t]o wit, the Catawbias, Cherokees, Creeks, Chicasaws; and not long since the Chactaws also."⁵⁷ Government officials had to be ready at all times because native groups usually came whenever they pleased. In November 1751 Glen presented to Cherokee chiefs who had come to Charles Town, together with other members of the tribes, a number of articles of clothing. The head of the Eufassee, called the Raven, was presented with "a scarlet Coat, Wastcoat and Breches, ruffled Shirt, gold-laced Hat, Shoes, Buckles, Buttons, Stockins and Gartring, . . . a Piece of Stroud, 5 Yards of Callico, ten Yards of Em[bossed] Serge." Raven's son, Moitoy, received gifts of clothing which included "one of the best Coats out of the Publick Store, a white Shirt, . . . Shoes and Stockins, Buckles and garters, a laced Hat and 5 Yards of em[bossed]Serge." "For the remaining 19 Cheifs of an inferior Rank, a Coar, Gun, Shirt, Flaps, Hat, Boots each."⁵⁸ As suggested by Moitoy's gift of a coat "out of the Publick Store," at least some of these items were kept on hand in quantity for unannounced visits.

When a large group of Upper and Lower Cherokees came to Charles Town to meet with Governor Glen in July 1753, they re-



FIGURE 23. *Cunne Shote*, engraved by James McArdell after a painting by Francis Parsons, 1762. Ink on paper; HOA 10"; WOA 13½". A principal chief of the Cherokee nation, Cunne Shote, also known as Austenaco, traveled from South Carolina to London and the court of George III with two others in 1762. This image was created during that visit. His wearing apparel and accessories include important presentation goods, such as the pleated linen shirt, medal engraved with the heads of George III and Queen Charlotte, gorget marked "GR III," and mantle trimmed with rich braid. *Acc.* 1142.1.

ceived ritual gifts of clothing all of which were selected carefully to reflect the rank of the potential wearer. The list can be interpreted as a kind of sumptuary regulation that the American Indians themselves well may have formulated and communicated to government officials through their trader/interpreter. The seven headmen each received "a Suit of scarlet Cloaths, a ruffled shirt, laced Hat," as well as a "stroud Blanker, Shoes, Stockings, Garters, buckles, silk [Handkerchiefs], [and] Ribbon." Three head men "of inferiour Rank" each were given a woolen coat, bleached linen shirt, hat, flaps, and stroud blanket. Each of the thirty common men in the group received a linen shirt, hat, flap, and stroud blanket. Finally, six yards of calico, three yards of embossed serge, three yards of ribbon, a shirt, and a stroud blanket were presented to four Cherokee women, who accompanied the party.⁵⁹

Dart's inventory reflects his knowledge of the textile goods required for the deerskin trade. The woolen manufactory at Witney in Oxfordshire produced a heavy loose fabric suitable for blankets that were exported for "cloathing the Indians." Medium-grade wool was also mixed with coarser kinds of fleece to produce duffels.⁶⁰ Dart had over fifty yards of Yorkshire cloth as well as duffels and blankets at the time of his death. In addition to the cottons, linens, and ready-made men's clothing, Dart carried a supply of beads for the trade. The inventory lists fifty-six pounds in weight for a value of just over £3.⁶¹

CONCLUSION

In the early 1750s, Charlestonians who shopped at the store owned by John and Benjamin Dart had access to a myriad of fabrics of various qualities, weights, colors, and designs as well as ready-made clothing and embellishments. Visitors saw shelves stacked with folded lengths of linen, woolen, cotton, and silk textiles, many still secured in their coarse linen wrappers. Shirts, jackets, coats, trousers, cloaks, hose, and caps were given space as well. Trunks and

boxes were packed with still more fabrics and trimmings. Shades of brown, beige, and white competed with bright solid bands of color, stripes, flowerings, and checks.

The preferences of the Lowcountry's elite for clothing and furnishing textiles were satisfied by fine linens, hand-painted India cottons, lightweight silks, superfine broadcloths, worsted damask, and elegant laces and bindings. Other textiles—coarse woolen plains and rough linen osnaburg—were included in the list of prescribed fabrics for slave clothing. Between the two extremes of free elite and plantation slave was a wide range of consumers, including tradespeople, apprentices, indentured and enslaved servants, free African Americans and American Indians, all of whom were interested in and did purchase or receive many of these same goods. For instance, Dart's "12 Yards Rich Red & white Strip'd Tobine" and "3 ps. fine Chintz" were status dress fabrics for the wives of planters and merchants.⁶² These same textiles worn by a Charles Town bondwoman symbolized her independent earnings ability. The three pieces of chintz were entirely suitable gifts for the native women who accompanied headmen to Charles Town for trade negotiations. Each piece was probably enough yardage for a jacket, gown, or petticoat. Lowly fabrics had their multiple uses as well. Osnaburg was an inexpensive, coarse unbleached linen first made in Osnabrück, Germany, and later in Scotland and Lancashire, England.⁶³ This fabric was a practical choice for work trousers, bags and sacks, and wrapping material. As slave clothing material, it was ubiquitous. And yet, in 1751 one yard of osnaburg could be exchanged for a valuable commodity: one doeskin.

Seen in this light, John Dart's inventory demonstrates the strength and diversity of Charles Town's textile trade in the mid-eighteenth century. It was a trade based on South Carolinians' demand for imported foreign-made goods and their search for self-definition. Whether white, African American, or American Indian, these consumers used fabrics, and especially clothing, to position themselves not only within their respective communities but also to define themselves within a larger colonial society.

KATHLEEN STAPLES is an independent researcher and author specializing in textile history. In addition to authoring many articles and several books on various aspects of historic Western embroideries, she has organized textile exhibits at The Textile Museum in Washington, DC, and Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

NOTES

1. Named for England's monarch Charles II, Charles Town was established in 1671. The name was not changed to Charleston until the city was incorporated in 1783.
2. For a full discussion of the problems of trade during the 1740s, see Stuart O. Stumpf, "Implications of King George's War for the Charleston Mercantile Community," *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, vol. 77, no. 3 (1976): 169-171.
3. Robert Pringle to John Richards 2 September 1738 in Walter Edgar, ed., *The Letterbook of Robert Pringle*, vol. 1. (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 1972), p. 31.
4. *South Carolina Gazette* (henceforth cited as *SCG*), 8 November 1751.
5. Audrey Mitchie has written an excellent introduction to the kinds of textiles that were imported into South Carolina between 1738 and 1742, quoting from both notices in the *South Carolina Gazette* and the letterbook of merchant Robert Pringle. See her "Charleston Textile Imports, 1738-1742," *Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts*, vol. 8, no. 1 (1981): 21-39.
6. Mabel Webber, compiler, "Register of St. Andrews Parish, Berkeley County, South Carolina, 1719-1774," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, vol. 13, no. 1 (January 1912): 24. A bequest to his widowed sister, Sarah Sandick of London, suggests that Dart was born in England. See Will of John Dart, *Wills, Charleston County, S.C., 1752-1756*, vol. 81: 305.
7. Walter B. Edgar and N. Louise Bailey, *Biographical Directory of the South Carolina House of Representatives: The Commons House of Assembly, 1692-1775*, (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 1977), p. 185.
8. *SCG*, 23 April 1744; Will of John Dart, 305.
9. *SCG*, 28 April 1746. Maty Hext was actively teaching by 1740. She placed five notices for her girls' boarding school in the *South Carolina Gazette* between November 1740 and October 1744.
10. Dart was among the one hundred and seventy-one sufferers in the devastating fire of 1740 who received partial compensation from the House of Commons in London for loss of property. Dart received £690, ranking twenty-sixth in the amount received. After the fire he relocated his store to Miles Brewton's house, moving back to Tradd Street in 1741. See Kenneth Scott, "Sufferers in the Charleston fire of 1740," *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, vol. 64, no. 4 (1961): 208-211; Jeanne A. Calhoun, et al., "The Geographic Spread of Charleston's Mercantile Community, 1732-1767," *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, vol. 86, no. 3 (1985): 195.
11. *SCG*, 23 November 1734.
12. *SCG*, 16 June and 25 August 1733.
13. The *St. Phillip* was a French vessel captured by privateers during King George's War and condemned as a war prize. It was awarded to owners in Providence and subsequently registered in Charleston in 1748. See R. Nicholas Olsberg, "Ship Registers in the South Carolina Archives," *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, vol. 74, no. 4 (1973): 245 and 263.
14. Will of John Dart, 306.

15. Dart marked his first nomination for candidacy for the Commons House with a short acceptance speech he had printed in the *South-Carolina Gazette* for 29 March 1735. He also was elected to the twelfth, thirteenth, and nineteenth through twenty-first Royal Assemblies; see Walter B. Edgar and N. Louise Bailey, *Biographical Directory of the South Carolina House of Representatives: The Commons House of Assembly, 1692-1775*, vol. II. (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 1977), p. 185.

16. These included justice of the peace for Berkeley County, 1737; commissioner to sign and stamp paper currency, 1737 and 1748; commissioner to build a curtain line for the defense of Charleston, 1738; commissioner to borrow money to assist James Oglethorpe's invasion of Florida, 1740; and commissioner to purchase Indian corn, 1753. See Walter and Bailey, 185.

17. The moveable and human property at Dartfield, consisting of thirty-three slaves, oxen, cattle, horses, sheep, swine, farm implements and conveyances, the contents of perhaps a one-room dwelling, a crop of rice (estimated at one hundred twenty barrels), four hundred bushels of corn, and twenty-five of peas, was appraised at £7.152:17.6. The moveable property at Sanford, including twelve slaves, was appraised at £3.138:6.6. Henry A. M. Smith, "Beaufort—The Original Plan and the Earliest Settlers," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, vol. 9, no. 3 (1908): 156; Inventory and Appraisal of the Goods and Chattels of John Dart . . . at the Plantation called Dartfield, *Inventories, Charleston County, S.C., 1753-1756*, vol. 82A: 496-497; Inventory and Appraisal of the Personal Estate in Charles Town of the late Mr. John Dart Deceased, *Inventories, Charleston, S.C., 1753-1756*, vol. 82B: 500.

18. An Inventory and Appraisal of the Goods &c. in Store belonging to Benjamin Dart and Company, *Inventories, Charleston, S.C., 1753-1756*, vol. 82B: 501-513; Invoice of Sundry Merchandize Received by the Ship Friendship, *Inventories, Charleston, S.C., 1753-1756*, vol. 82B: 513-515.

19. Florence Montgomery, *Textiles in America, 1650-1870* (New York: Norton, 1984), p. 197.

20. Montgomery, 207, 143-144, 175.

21. *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd edition, CD-ROM, entry for "flannel."

22. Montgomery, 218.

23. *Oxford English Dictionary*, entry for "out."

24. Montgomery, 333.

25. Richard Hill offered "Yard-wide Canvas, proper for Periawger-Sails at 14 l. per Bolt;" *SCG*, 31 August 1734.

26. Montgomery, 182.

27. Quoted in *Ibid.* 375.

28. Quoted in Robert M. Weir, *Colonial South Carolina: A History* (Millwood, NY: KTO Press, 1983), p. 222.

29. Quoted in Walter Edgar, *South Carolina: A History* (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 1998), p. 190.

30. Quoted in Julia Cherry Spruill, *Women's Life and Work in the Southern Colonies* (New York: Norton, 1972), p. 134.

31. *SCG*, 7 December 1748; 5 November 1753.

32. An Act for the Better Ordering and Governing Negroes and Other Slaves, *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina*, ed. David J. McCord (Columbia, SC: A.S. Johnston), vol. 7, 1840: 396.

33. "Johann Martin Bolzius Answers a Questionnaire on Carolina and Georgia," trans. and ed. Klaus, G. Loewald et al., *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, XIV, no. 2 (April 1957): 256.

34. Philip D. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1998), p. 126.

35. "Bolzius Answers a Questionnaire," 256. For a full discussion of the task system in South Carolina, which allowed slaves their own time—and usually land—for planting and sometimes raising hogs and poultry, see Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 179–187.

36. *SCG*, 8 August 1754.

37. *Ibid.*, 16 April 1754.

38. For an in-depth discussion of slaves who hired their own time, see Philip D. Morgan, "Black Life in Eighteenth-Century Charleston," *Perspectives in American History*, n.s., no. 1 (1984): 187–232.

39. For an in-depth discussion of livery, see Linda Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal: The Language of Clothing in Colonial and Federal America: The Colonial Williamsburg Collection* (Williamsburg, VA: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation; New Haven, CT: Yale University, 2002), pp. 128–132.

40. *SCG*, 25 July and 29 August 1754.

41. *Ibid.*, 5 November 1744.

42. *Ibid.*, 8 and 28 January, 2 April, and 1 August 1754. Unless described as a pocket handkerchief, the handkerchief was a large square of cloth worn as a neck covering by men as well as women. Linda Baumgarten has noted that handkerchiefs of fine cotton or linen were worn by fashionable ladies. Fabrics of a lesser quality in stripes, prints, and solid colors were worn by working class men and women. Slave women used the handkerchief as a head wrap. See Linda Baumgarten, "Clothes for the People: Slave Clothing in Early Virginia," *Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts*, vol. xiv, no. 2 (1988): 63.

43. A shift forty-eight inches in length required about three and a half yards of linen; see Baumgarten, "Clothes for the People," 31.

44. Kathryn E. Holland Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels: Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685–1815* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1993), p. 42.

45. Buckskin is the term for deerskins that have been dehaired and processed.

46. Edgar, 136.

47. This enumeration is the introduction to a brief speech Governor James Glen delivered to the Six Nations on 12 November 1751; see *Colonial Records of South Carolina: Documents Relating to Indian Affairs, May 21, 1750–August 7, 1754*, ed. William L. McDowell, Jr. (Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department, 1958), p. 166.

48. W. O. Moore, Jr., "The Largest Exporters of Deerskins from Charles Town, 1735–1751," *The South Carolina Historical Magazine*, vol. 74, no. 3 (July 1973): 146, 149.

49. Dart's signature was one of two (the other was Charles Pinckney's) authorizing the Ordinance for Regulating the Cherokee Trade of December 1751, decreed by Governor James Glen. See *Documents Relating to Indian Affairs*, 198–200.

50. *Ibid.*, 135–136.

51. Braund, 122.

52. *Documents Relating to Indian Affairs*, 146–147.

53. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the word *matchcoat* is probably a corruption of the Odjibua word *matchkode*. It originally referred to a mantle made of fur and skins. English woolen fabric—either duffel or stroud—began to be substituted for skins with the onset of the fur and deerskin trade.

54. Braund, 123.

55. John Phillip Reid, *A Better Kind of Hatchet: Law, Trade, and Diplomacy in the Cherokee*

Nation during the Early Years of European Contact (University Park: Pennsylvania State University, 1976), p. 85.

56. *Documents Relating to Indian Affairs*, 217–218.

57. Wilbur R. Jacobs, ed., *Indians of the Southern Colonial Frontier: The Edmond Atkin Report and Plan of 1755* (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 1954), p. 17.

58. *Documents Relating to Indian Affairs*, 161–162.

59. *Ibid.*, 453–454.

60. Montgomery, 375.

61. Inventory . . . belonging to Benjamin Dart and Company, 511.

62. The term *robine* was used to describe a variety of high-quality dress fabrics from silk to silk and worsted combinations characterized by warp-float patterns of small flowers. Chintz was a cotton fabric with hand-painted or resist-dyed patterns, usually floral. Until the early 1750s, the decorated fabric was produced in India. In about 1754 England began to block-print imported India cottons. See Montgomery, 200, 367.

63. Montgomery, 312–313.

APPENDIX A: INVENTORY OF FLAT TEXTILES

Prices are listed as pounds, shillings, and pence. Twelve pence equal one shilling; twenty shillings equal one pound.

<i>Description</i>	<i>Inventory page</i>	<i>Price</i>
LINEN		
4½ ps. brown buckram	505	3: 8: 4½
35 ps. of Bed Bunt	504	24: 12: —
20 ps. 10 Remnts. of Cambrik	506	53: 19: 3½
11½ Yds. Engh. Canvas	512	2: 6: —
1 ps. Marking Canvas	501	1: 14: —
9¼ Yards marking Canvas	511	8: 5: ¾
37½ Yards Diaper	501	5: 19: ¾
8½ ps. Clouting Diaper	506	4: 12: —
3 Long suits Diaper Tabling & Napkining	501	13: 7: —
29 ps. Dowlas	510	27: 6: —
24 pieces of ¾ & ⅞ Garlix	510	25: 13: 6
1 ps. Garlix	513	7: —: —
10 ps. Hessins	512	40: —: —
3 ps. and one Remnant of Brown Holland	501	5: 18: 9
3 ps. Garlix Holland	510	9: —: 8
3 Remnants of Clear & Spotted Lawn	506	4: 1: ½
11 Yards fine Holland Lawn	506	2: 10: 5
23 ps. Pistol Lawns	501	11: 17: 6
68 ps. & 6 Remnants Irish Linning	504	134: 2: —
1½ ps. of Ell wide Irish Sheeting Linning	505	3: 9: 5¾
41 ps. Ozenbrigs	503	104: 8: 4
21½ Yards Irish Ozenbrig 41¾ Ells German do.	506	1: 11: 2
1 Remnant of French Quilts & Figured Holland	501	1: 6: 1
41 Bolts of Sail Cloth	502	80: 4: 1¾
27 Yards Sail cloth 16¾ Ells Ticklinburg	506	1: 11: 2¼
5 ps. Tandem	510	11: 4: 6
Subtotal		585: 11: 6¾
WOOL		
29 Yds. Broad Cloth @ 72/	512	101: 10: —
6¼ Yds Supc. blk Broad Cloth	502	4: 16: 10½
14¾ Yards Blue Broad Cloth	511	16: 1: 3
6 ps. & 42 yds. Bunting	503	8: 2: 2
1 ps. & 65 Yards Calamanco	501	4: 15: 8¾
1 ps. & 29¼ Yards Brown Camplets	501	4: 8: 11½
1½ ps. Blk Crape	505	1: 19: 4½
A Parcel of Motheaten Norwich Crape	512	5: —: —
2½ ps. & 27¼ Yards Worsted Damask	501	7: 16: 8

<i>Description</i>	<i>Inventory page</i>	<i>Price</i>
32 Yards Drugget	501	1:12:—
2 ps. Duffels & 4 Blankets	504	7: 11: 10 ¹ / ₄
26 ¹ / ₄ Yards Scarlet Everlasting	501	2: 6: 4 ¹ / ₂
116 ¹ / ₂ Yards White Flannel	502	5: 16: 6
9 ¹ / ₂ Yards White Flannel	513	11: 17: 6
8 Yds. Check'd nonpareil [lamparilla]	512	1: —: —
4 ps. Blue & Green Plains	504	6: 16: 6
7 ps. White Plains 647 ¹ / ₂ Yds.	510	29: 13: 6 ¹ / ₂
115 ¹ / ₄ Yards German Serge	503	17: 8: 5 ³ / ₄
4 ps. & 316 ³ / ₄ Shalloon	501	26: 3: 2
10 ¹ / ₂ Yds. Red Shalloon 1 ps. Green Tammy	512	7: 18: 9
71 Yards Swan Skin & white Flannel	506	4: —: 10
12 Yards Black Tammy	501	—: 10: —
1 ps. Blue Tammy 23 Yds.	512	4: —: —
22 ¹ / ₄ Yards Whitney	501	8: 8: 6 ¹ / ₂
3 Remnts. of Yorkshire Cloth 42 ¹ / ₄ yds	512	42: 5: —
8 ¹ / ₂ Yds. Yorkshire Cloth 26 Yds. Blue & Buntin	512	11: 18: 6
Subtotal		343: 8: 6 ³ / ₄

COTTON

5 ps. 2 Remnts. Figd. & other Dimity	501	9: 5: 1 ¹ / ₂
3 ps. fine Chintz 2 Remts. plain Muslin	506	11: 4: 5 ¹ / ₂
1 ¹ / ₂ ps. Striped Muslin	511	4: 10: —
Subtotal		24: 19: 7

SILK

35 ¹ / ₄ Yards of Musketo Netts	506	10: 6: —
66 yards Blk Blue White & Green Sattin	507	2: 7: 8: —
7 Ells blk Alamode 3 ¹ / ₄ Ells Sarsenet	507	1: 7: 4
60 Ells white Sarcnett & Black Alamode @ ² / ₈ d Ell	514	8: —: —
12 Yards Rich Red & White Strip'd Tobine	507	6: —: —
Subtotal		53: 1: 4

MIXED Warp and Weft

5 ¹ / ₂ Yards Bombazeen [silk warp, worsted weft]	511	—: 8: 8 ¹ / ₂
2 ps. & 3 Remnants stripped Cotton Hollands [cotton warp, linen weft]	504	7: 13: 11 ¹ / ₂
7 ps. & — Remnants of Dyed Jeans [linen warp, cotton weft]	511	102: 1: 4 ³ / ₄
80 ps. & 3 Remnants Cotton & Linning Checks [linen and cotton warp and weft]	504	132: 13: 3 ¹ / ₂
Subtotal		241: 37: 4 ¹ / ₄

Mixed Types of Fabrics

A qty. of Calicoes Printed Linnings Chints & ca. [linen and cotton fabric]	506	102: 12: 1 $\frac{3}{4}$
13 $\frac{3}{4}$ Yards Dowlas 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ Yds. stripped Cotton [linen and cotton fabrics]	506	1: 5: $\frac{3}{4}$
2 Remnants Stripped Linsey 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ Yards green planes [linen/cotton and wool fabrics]	506	2: 11: 3
2 ps. Coarse Dowlas 52 $\frac{1}{2}$ Yards Manchester Velvet [linen and cotton fabrics]	512	115: —: —
25 $\frac{3}{4}$ Yds. Engh. Nankeen 30 Yds. Scarlet Everlasting [cotton and wool fabrics]	512	21: 8: 9
Subtotal		241: 37: 2 $\frac{1}{2}$
TOTAL		1,492: 15: 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ 4

APPENDIX B: INVENTORY OF FINISHED
AND UNFINISHED DRESS GOODS

<i>Description</i>	<i>Inventory page</i>	<i>Price</i>
1 Marcella drawn Coat	512	8: —: —
3 Cloth Cloaks 18 Great Coats	502	14: 5: —
4 Great Coats 2 Sutout Coats 5 Boys Beaver Coats	512	21: 10: —
22 Mens and Boys Coats & 17 Pair of Breeches	502	14: 14: 6
46 Mens & boys Jackets	502	13: 2: 10
8 Flannel Jackets 3 Whitney 1 Plad & 1 Broleau Jacket	512	8: —: —
21 Dozn. of Mens Check & shirts & Trowts.	502	27: 5: 9
Silk & Worsted Patterns for Breeches	507	11: 17: —
3 dozn. Mens & Boys Worsted hose & 6 Breeches Patterns	514	6: —: —
11 Womens Scarlet Cloaks	506	4: 4: 6
A Quantity of Mens Womens Boys & Girls Thread Cotton silk & Worsted Hose	504	128: —: 8
11 pr. Boys hose	505	—: 8: $\frac{1}{2}$
21 Pr. Mens silk Hose	506	11: 4: —
7 dozn. & 6 Mens Worsted & Cotton Caps	504	2: 8: 2 $\frac{1}{4}$
2 Dozn. & 10 Mens silk caps	506	5: —: 4
1 dozn. & 2 pr. more Mens Milled and Yarn Gloves	505	—: 8: 2
26 pr. Womens silk & thread Gloves	507	4: 1: 3
3 dozn. & 11 pr. Silk Knee Garters	506	1: 15: 3
7 ps. & 18 cotton & Linning Hank.	507	4: 5: 11 $\frac{1}{2}$
11 dozn. & 3 Linen hank.	507	6: 1: —
4 ps. & 8 Handk of silk Romals	508	6: 16: —
13 ps. Cotton Romals	503	6: 16: 6
TOTAL		306: 4: 11 $\frac{1}{4}$

APPENDIX C: INVENTORY OF
HABERDASHERY GOODS

<i>Description</i>	<i>Inventory page</i>	<i>Price</i>
7 ps. Silk Quality binding	501	1: 18: 6
20 Gro. Bowdye Caddice and 4 lbs. sewing Silk	514	13: 13: —
4 Gross & 41 Yards silk, Ferrets	501	3: 12: 5½
10½ Gross & 19 ps. Gartering	501	5: —: 4½
3 doz. & 10 ps. Bobbin [lace?]	506	—: 6: 7
15 Yards Gold Lace	512	20: —: —
100½ Yards Gold & Silver Lace	507	18: 1: 3
196¾ Yards Head & sutting Lace	510	80: —: 3¾
5 Ozs. & 5 Silk Laces	501	1: 7: 4½
11 Gross silk & thread Bed Lace	507	11: 4: —
4 doz. & 5 ps. nonsopretty	506	5: 2: 1
A Quantity of Ribbons of all sorts	505	36: 18:¾
2 ps. Ribbon	512	1: 10: —
2 doz. & 19 ps. Tapes	506	1: 6: 5
4¼ doz. & 46 ps. of Tapes	506	2: 18: 8¼
8 doz. & 9 ps. of Tapes & Sundry sorts	514	4: 16: 9
3 doz. Beggars Tape	504	—: 10: 6
64 lb: 3 oz of diff. sorts of Thread	506	9: 6: 9
2 lb. ¾ Green thread	511	17: 21: 2
52 Ozs. Flowring Cotton [thread]	506	2: 5: —
102 lb. Ozenbrig thread	503	7: 2: 3
14 lb. 11 oz Scotch thread	501	8: 12: 4
8:1 ½ Ozs. of Coloured Silk [thread]	501	9: 14: 11¼
1 lb. of Cruels [yarn]	501	—: 3: 2
TOTAL		263:11:11

APPENDIX D: INVENTORY OF
FINISHED HOUSEHOLD TEXTILES

<i>Description</i>	<i>Inventory page</i>	<i>Price</i>
5 Cotton Counterpins	506	4:18:1
1 Bed Quilt [listed with a rice screen]	511	12:—:—
5 Bedside Turkey Carpets	502	5:15:—
TOTAL		22:13:1

APPENDIX E: MISCELLANEOUS

<i>Description</i>	<i>Inventory page</i>	<i>Price</i>
1 Pair womens silk Stockings damaged a parcel of Tapes Course Gartering & Landing Nets	512	3:—:—
Bay Jacket/Motheaten 4½ ps. duroys	512	20:12:6
3 Pair Bed Blankerts 10 ½ ps. Yd. wide & Stripped Garlix	512	67:4:—
A Parcel of Mothearen milled caps & worsted Stockings & two Small Remnant cloths	512	3:—:—
A Trunk of Printed Linnens Calicoes & Russia Lace	515	46:16:9¼
TOTAL		140:13:3¼
TOTAL OF ALL TEXTILE GOODS		2,225: 18: 9¾

